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WILLIAM THE SILENT.
(After an engraving by John Weirix.)

WILLIAM THE SILENT

PRINCE OF ORANGE

THE MODERATE MAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE STORY OF HIS LIFE AS TOLD FROM HIS OWN LETTERS
FROM THOSE OF HIS FRIENDS AND ENEMIES
AND FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

BY

RUTH PUTNAM

"Het Geschil is te kleen om gesplijt te blijven"

VOLUME II.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIX.

PAGE

FIRST FRUITS. (1572) 1

The tenth penny—Beggars of the sea—Capture of Brill—Action of the cities—Medina Cœli—Recognition of the prince as stadtholder—His return to the Netherlands—Siege of Mons—The Massacre—Retreat of Louis.

CHAPTER XX.

BELEAGUERED TOWNS. (1572–1573) 25

Naarden—The prince enters Holland—Harlem—Discouragement—Overtures from France—Alkmaar—Orange joins Calvinist communion—Louis and Charles IX.—Epistle to King of Spain.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BATTLE OF MOOK. (1574) 56

Middelburg capitulates—The Nassau troops—Mook Heath—Uncertainty about the brothers—Death of Louis and Henry—The mutiny—Peace negotiations—Leyden—The prince's illness—The new university.

CHAPTER XXII.

NEW BONDS. (1574–1575) 88

The prince and the government—Conference at Breda—Charlotte of Bourbon—The marriage—Criticism in Germany—The new union.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PAGE

THE UNION OF DELFT. (1575–1576) 114

Gains of the enemy—Foreign aid—Death of the Grand Commander—The interregnum—The union—Zierikzee—The mutiny—The prince's efforts.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PACIFICATION OF GHENT—THE UNITED NETHERLANDS. (1576) 142

The states-general—Conference at Ghent—The Spanish Fury—The Pacification signed—Family letters.

CHAPTER XXV.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA AND THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. (1576–1577). 163

The new governor—Negotiations with the states—The prince's objections—The Perpetual Edict—The Union of Brussels—Don John enters the capital—International correspondence.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GERTRUIDENBERG AND NAMUR. (1577) 189

Don John's overtures to Orange—Failure—Margaret of Valois—The seizure of Namur—The citadels demolished—The new governments—Foreign negotiation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BRABANT REVISITED—AN ANXIOUS FAMILY. (1577–1578) . 215

The prince's children—Invitation to Brussels—The outlaw's return—Rupture with Don John—Family letters—Breda—Ruward of Brabant—Matthias and the prince enter Brussels.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PAGE

FOUR KNIGHTS. (1578) 246

Battle of Gembloux—The states-general leave Brussels—The family at Antwerp—Boldness of the sects—Count John and Guelderland—John Casimir—Don John's death—Alexander Farnese.

CHAPTER XXIX.

TWO UNIONS—DISUNION. (1578–1579) 273

Peace of religion—Union of Arras—Union of Utrecht—A Paris pantomime—Troubles at Ghent—The congress at Cologne—Maestricht—Negotiations with France.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BAN. (1580–1581) 300

Appeals to states-general—The prince in Holland—The French alliance—Count John—Death of Juliana of Stolberg—The proscription—The apology—Treaty of Bordeaux—The abjuration.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE HAND OF THE ASSASSIN. (1582) 333

The new protector—Anjou made Duke of Brabant—John Jaureguy—Excitement in Antwerp—The prince's illness—Charlotte of Bourbon.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE. (1582–1583) 354

Orange and Anjou at Bruges—The duke's discontent—His plot—The French fury—Cousinly letters—Louise Coligny—Distrust of the prince—Negotiations with Anjou.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PAGE

HOLLAND'S CHOICE. (1584) 383

The countship of Holland—Letter of acceptance—The circular-letter—The new constitution—Delays—The prince's memoir.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE BAN SUCCESSFUL. (1584) 394

The family at Delft — Assassins — Balthazar Gérard — The prince's last days—July 10th—The murderer—A mourning city—The funeral—The prince's appearance—EPILOGUE.

APPENDICES.

A. GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU . . 433

B. SONGS, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL 434

C. ACT DECLARING THE PRINCE'S MARRIAGE LEGAL . . 444

D. SPECIMEN OF CIPHER 446

E. HUBERT LANGUET 447

F. HUBERT DOVEHOUSE 448

G. THE PRINCIPALITY OF ORANGE 450

H. PORTRAITS OF WILLIAM THE SILENT 453

BIBLIOGRAPHY 459

INDEX 463

ILLUSTRATIONS.

FACING PAGE

WILLIAM THE SILENT. (FROM AN ENGRAVING BY J. H. TURNER AFTER THAT BY JOHN WEIRIX, 1555–1620 (?)) . . . . . *Frontispiece*

ALLEGORY, REPRESENTING THE BELGIAN LION CRUSHED BY SPAIN. (REDRAWN FROM AN OLD PRINT [1]) 2

THE CAPTURE OF BRILL, APRIL 1, 1572. (REDRAWN FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING) [2] 4

THE DUKE OF ALVA. (FROM AN OLD PRINT OF TITIAN'S PAINTING) 10

ALLEGORY, REPRESENTING THE COMING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. (FROM AN ENGRAVING OF 1572) 14

MAP OF THE NETHERLANDS, 1550. (SHOWING THE TERRITORY UNDER THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY) [3] 20

THE DEFEAT OF BOSSU. (FROM AN OLD COPPER-PLATE) [2] 38

DON LUIS DE REQUESENS. (BASED ON AN OLD PRINT) [4] 50

[1] From *Nederlandtsche Gedenck Clank*. A. Valerius, 1626.

[2] *Nederlandsche Historien*, P. C. Bor.

[3] Redrawn from *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk*. P. G. Blok.

[4] From *Bruxelles à travers les Ages*. By Louis Hymans. Brussels.

FACING PAGE

COUNT LOUIS OF NASSAU. (FROM AN OLD PRINT) . 66

PHILIP MARNIX, LORD OF ST. ALDEGONDE. (FROM AN ENGRAVING BY J. A. BOLAND AFTER THAT BY JOHN WEIRIX) 76

COUNT JOHN OF NASSAU. (REPRODUCED FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING) [1] 100

THE THEATRE AT ORANGE. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH) 130

ALLEGORY, THE PACIFICATION OF GHENT. THE UNITED PROVINCES.[2] 156

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA. (BASED ON AN OLD ENGRAVING) 164

FAC-SIMILES OF VARIOUS LETTERS AND AUTOGRAPHS 168

THE HÔTEL DE VILLE IN BRUSSELS. (BASED ON AN OLD PRINT) [3] 184

WILLIAM THE SILENT. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF A PORTRAIT AT DELFT) 194

THE ENTRY OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE INTO BRUSSELS. (FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING) [3] . . 220

ARCHDUKE MATTHIAS. (BASED ON AN OLD PRINT) [3] 230

ALEXANDER FARNESE, PRINCE OF PARMA. (FROM AN ENGRAVING) [3] 266

FRANÇOIS OF VALOIS, DUKE OF ANJOU. (FROM AN OLD PRINT) 324

PHILIP II. (BASED ON AN OLD PRINT) [3] . . . 328

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, 1582. (FROM AN OLD PRINT) . . 338

LOUISE DE COLIGNY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE. (FROM AN ENGRAVING AFTER THE PORTRAIT BY MICHEL MIEREVELD (1568–1641) . . . 368

[1] From J. P. Arend's *Algem. Geschiedenis des Vaderlands.*

[2] From *Nederlandtsche Gedenck Clank.* A. Valerius, 1626.

[3] From *Bruxelles à travers les Ages.* By Louis Hymans. Brussels.

FACING PAGE

MAP OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES.[1] . . 386

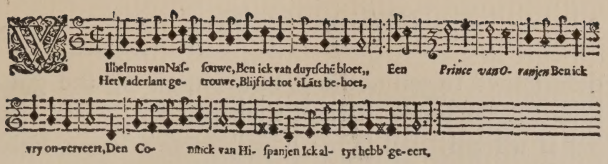
THE ASSASSINATION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE BY BALTHAZAR GÉRARD. (FROM AN OLD PRINT)[2] 412

THE STAIRCASE IN THE PRINZENHOF AT DELFT (FROM AN ETCHING). 420

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU 433

FRIESLAND RECOGNISES THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES. (FROM A MEDAL OF THE HOLLAND SOCIETY) 431

[1] Redrawn from *Atlas der Nederlande*. By Hendrik de Leth, Amsterdam.

[2] From *Nederlandsche Historien*, P. C. Bor.

Vilhelmus van Nas- touwe, Ben ick van duytschē bloet,, Een Prince van Oranjen Ben ick
Het Vaderlant ge- trouwe, Blijfick tot 'sLāts be-hoet,
vry on-verveert, Den Co- nincklick van Hi- spanjen Ick al- tyt hebb' ge-eert,

WILLIAM THE SILENT.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST FRUITS.

1572.

FOR a brief space it seemed as though resistance to Philip were at an end in the Netherlands. At the beginning of 1572, there was a sluggish calm over the land. The tax of the tenth penny had been allowed to rest in abeyance for two years, so-called donations from the states taking the place of the unpopular impost. In the course of the year there came a change. The viceroy determined to enforce the collection of the tax, and the first mention of such intention roused the quiescent burghers to a state of exasperation.[1] Every petty merchant realised at once, that commerce could not exist with such a handicap. They

[1] See *Cor. de Philippe II.*, Gachard, ii., 213, 224; Strada, vii., 70; Wagenaar, xxiii., 333; Hoofd, vi., 211. Renon de France makes nothing of this question of taxation.

determined to sell nothing, to avoid giving the government the lion's share of their profits.

"If we only had funds now," wrote Orange, Feb. 17th, "we could, with God's aid, accomplish something—even the smallest sums would be of use."[1] Accustomed to feel the public pulse, watching as he did from a distant vantage-ground, with many eyes at his service, the prince perceived that this legalised attack on the purses of a commercial nation would rouse a spirit of resistance that no other injustice could do.

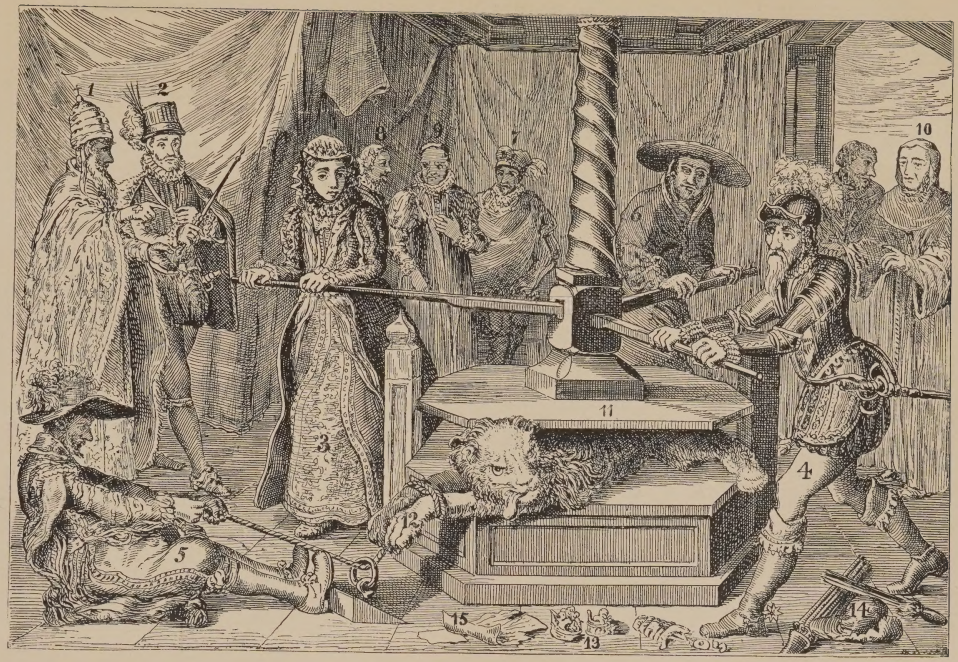
Alva saw things in a different light. He thought a few summary measures would set stagnant commerce again in motion. In accordance with this idea, he was about to hang a recusant tradesman at his own shop-door as an encouragement to inert business enterprise, when events took a turn he little anticipated.

For universal lethargic submission to his will was at an end, and the patient efforts of the banished prince in the lonely Dillenburg Castle, and other remote shelters, began to show results, though in an unexpected way.

The little navy established under his commission had obtained rather an unenviable reputation, not to be wondered at, as these Beggars of the Sea indulged in operations of a most piratical nature. During the winter of 1572, twenty-four little vessels under de Lumey, Count de la Mark,[2] cruised around the Eng-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iii., 411, note.

[2] See Hoofd, vi., 213; Wagenaar, xxiii., 342 *et seq.*; Strada, vii., 72; Renon de France, i., 421.



ALLEGORY, REPRESENTING THE BELGIAN LION CRUSHED BY SPAIN. (Redrawn from an old print.)

1. The Pope. 2. Philip II. 3. Margaret of Parma. 4. The Duke of Alva. 5. Don Frederic. 6. Cardinal Granvelle. 7. Vergas, 8. Delrio (Spanish officers). 10. Brother Cornelius. 11. The Press of Tyranny. 12. The Belgian Lion. 13. The Lion's Broken Crown. 14. Injured Liberty. 15. Violated Privileges of the Land.

lish coast. In the spring, Elizabeth, owing to amicable negotiations with Alva, forbade their staying any longer in British waters, and they returned to the mouth of the Scheldt. They were not allowed to carry supplies from the English ports, and arrived off their native shores almost in a state of starvation.

They determined to make a foray on North Holland, and actually succeeded in capturing two Spanish merchantmen. The winds being contrary, they were then driven down toward Zealand, entered the mouth of the Meuse on Tuesday, April 1st, and appeared suddenly between the towns of Brill and Maaslandsluis. The Beggars only wanted food, and had no intention of making an offensive attack. The people of Brill were greatly astonished at the sight of so considerable a fleet, and sent a ferryman, one Peter Koppelstock, to inquire the intruders' purpose.

William de Blois, Seignior de Treslong, was in command of the vessel, Koppelstock chanced to board, and he suddenly conceived the idea of asking for more than food. Having persuaded Admiral de la Mark to consent to his project, he dispatched Koppelstock back to Brill with a formal demand for the surrender of the town.

The message pleased the ferryman, who sympathised with the rebels, and he at once returned to the town hall[1] and told the assembled magistrates that the admiral and Treslong desired that two commissioners should be sent to treat with the patriots, whose only object was to abolish the tenth penny,

[1] As guarantee he carried Treslong's seal ring, "which was well-known, as his father came from Brill." Hoofd, vi., 214.

and to free the land from Alva's unjust domination. The magistrates asked what force de la Mark possessed, and Koppelstock,—according to Hoofd,[1]—answered carelessly, "About five thousand"—the real number being a scant four hundred, and starved men at that. This information was more convincing to the magistrates than any assertions that the intruders wished to aid them. They accepted an interview, and then fled ignominiously before the appointed hour, followed by the more prosperous portion of the citizens.

When the marines appeared at the gates, at the end of the two hours they had given for deliberation, they found no one to receive them but the poorer inhabitants, who admitted them after a short struggle. Admiral de la Mark took formal possession of the town, in the name of the Prince of Orange, as lawful stadtholder.[2] Thus, by means of an unexpected lie, was the first conquest made in the prince's name.

Persons were respected, but church property was rudely confiscated. After a short time the runaway burghers returned and took an oath of allegiance to the Prince of Orange as lawful stadtholder.

"Den ersten dag van Avril
Verloor Duc d'Alva zynen Brill,"[3]

In April upon All-fools' Day
Old Alva's specs were stole away,

[1] Hoofd, vi., 214.

[2] Luckily the admiral was not in sole command. As Hoofd says, he, having "geen wyder wit," wanted to burn the town, but wiser counsels prevailed.—*Ibid.*, 215.

[3] Bor, i., 366 *et seq.*—Brill is the Dutch word for spectacles.

THE CAPTURE OF BRILL (APRIL 1, 1572).
(Redrawn from an old engraving.)

said one of the Brussels street punsters. The rhyme was illustrated by a caricature representing la Mark stealing Alva's spectacles from his nose, while from the duke's mouth came the words, "*no es nada*"—"It is nothing,"—his usual remark on the reception of any news.

But in truth he did not think it nothing. He was angry at everybody, from Elizabeth, who had driven the Beggars from her shores in accordance with his own request, to the tradespeople he was about to punish for not trading and paying him ten per cent. at every change.[1]

He promptly sent Bossu[2] to recapture Brill, but the patriots cut a dyke, let in the sea, and made it impossible for the Spaniards to reach the city on one side, while they were quickly repulsed on the other. Many were drowned, and the rest escaped in the vessels they managed to reach.

At first Orange was scarce better pleased with this transaction than was the duke. He liked a well laid plan with consequent action, and he thought this premature, as indeed it was, but a disregard of the unities is sometimes as telling in life as in the drama, and this was one of the occasions.[3] This victory caused many eyes to turn towards the prince. Rotterdam declared that she was still for Philip's former stadtholder, but the city was promptly seized by Bossu and made to feel her mistake in a cruel manner.

Flushing came out boldly. Her citizens re-

[1] Thomas Brown to Lord Burleigh, *Rel. Politiques*, vi., 403.

[2] Bossu was Orange's successor as royal stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht.

[3] Bor, i., 367.

nounced allegiance to Alva and resumed the oath given to Orange in 1559. Enkhuizen, Leyden, Harlem, together with nearly all the important towns in Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Overyssel, Guelderland, and Utrecht followed suit in this radical course.[1]

The people raised the prince's standard and he became the personification of resistance to the tenth penny and all tyranny.

These events were cheering news indeed for the prince. He was not carried away by enthusiasm at the wildcat capture of Brill, but when he saw the rousing effect of this chance success on the sober-minded citizens of other places, he wrote formal letters to the corporations, urging them to give substantial aid for their own defence.[2]

[1] Renon (i., 430) says: "Plusieurs autres villes reçurent les Gueux et franchirent le Rubicon." Strada, vii., 72. In many places the independent movement was not unanimous and there were bloody conflicts. Where the people's party won, a new board of magistrates was at once chosen by popular election, thus putting their revolt on a legal democratic basis. Each new magistrate took an oath of fidelity to Philip as sovereign, and to the Prince of Orange as his stadtholder.

Hoofd naïvely remarks, that it is difficult for a man of little worldly knowledge [een man van kleene kennis in wereldsche zaken] to understand how the king could be resisted and served at the same time.

All Holland declared for the prince except Delft, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Woerden, Schoonhoven, Naarden, Muiden, and Weesp.—Hoofd, vi., 229 and 238.

[2] One letter to Middelburg is endorsed thus: "Received May 16th, 1572, by the hands of a Breton sailor." Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 47.

There is a memorandum in the handwriting of one Charles Meyer, on the rules to be observed in all the cities which submitted to the prince. The style is very racy and worthy of one of the Hesses. It is better to do things properly, is the theme—*Fronte capillata, post tergum occasio calva est.* But it was not possible to enforce all the good regulations. Groen, *Archives*, iii., 419.

Money now began to come to the prince from various sources. Louis was at Blois, using every effort to gain the co-operation of the Huguenots. Charles IX. had never been so warmly disposed towards Coligny as at this time, while he sent Orange a timely gift of 200,000 crowns.[1]

The regulations made by the prince were excellent, but he was still an absentee, and his lieutenants did not act in accordance with his theory. There was much ill-treatment of the Catholics, especially of priests, as the idea of toleration was about the last to be understood by the populace. There were also many dissensions about the booty captured from the Spaniards—T'Serraets, a trusty adherent of Orange, especially showing a disposition to take the lion's share, which was not at all pleasing to the others.

Though Orange had not been filled with delight at Treslong's success, Louis was otherwise constituted. He was fired with enthusiasm, and immediately turned his steps toward the borders of Brabant with five hundred horse and a thousand foot-soldiers. By the aid of a certain Antony Oliver, a geographer, who had insinuated himself into Alva's confidence by means of his clever maps, but who was really devoted to the Nassaus, Louis had secured a number of friends in the city of Mons, not far from the French border, now in the centre of the Belgian coal districts.

While the small army waited in the woods, twelve men, under the disguise of merchants, visited the city. Owing to the information they obtained,

[1] Hoofd, vi., 231.

Louis determined to attempt an entry before sunrise on the following morning, May 24th. The porter opened the gates on the promise of a bonus, and was immediately struck dead for his pains, while Louis and fifty men rode triumphantly into the city, making as much noise as if they were a thousand.[1] No resistance was made, but the rest of the force not arriving, Louis became impatient, and rushed out of the gates again, to find his troops wandering, lost in the woods. Each horseman took a foot-soldier behind him, and hastened back at full speed to Mons. Meanwhile, the city had awaked, and was closing its gates as fast as possible against its would-be rescuers. The entry was effected at the only drawbridge not quite up. It was pressed down by the weight of the first horseman upon it, and Louis led his men triumphantly into the city.

The magistrates and citizens were assembled in the market-place, and showed themselves by no means ready to accede to Louis's request that they

[1] Strada, vii., 73. Hoofd, vi., 247 (n. e.) *et seq.* *Mémoires Inédits de Michel de la Huguerye*, Paris, 1877, vol. i., 106 *et seq.* Michel de la Huguerye was born about 1545. He was sent to the College of Navarre at the age of fourteen, and spent eight years there, six as a pupil, and two as a teacher. Then he became a secretary, in which capacity he went to Rome in the year 1570. He was among the Huguenots who joined Louis in 1572, became attached to the count, accompanied him to Dillenburg, and remained in his service until the fatal day of Mook Heath. He never did justice to the Prince of Orange, thinking that he was jealous of Louis. The historian de Thou accused la Huguerye of selling Huguenot secrets, which has, however, as little foundation as have la Huguerye's suspicions of Orange. The memoirs were not composed until after 1604, so that they are not always reliable for small points of fact.

should officially declare Alva a traitor, and acknowledge Orange as Philip's proper representative. The citizens, however, aided Louis privately. Thus he was enabled to hold his position for three days, until the arrival of three thousand infantry placed him in security. Here the Catholics were well treated personally, though ecclesiastical property was confiscated. Alva was mad with rage at hearing this news close upon the tidings of the capture of Brill, and the independent declaration of the other cities. He at once sent off his son, Don Frederic, to reduce Mons.

On June 10th, the Duke of Medina Coeli, whom Philip had appointed as successor to Alva, arrived off Blankenburg with forty vessels and two thousand Spaniards under Julian Romero.[1] Some of the smaller craft were captured by the patriots at Flushing. Medina Coeli was totally unprepared for the change that had come about since he had had news. He escaped with difficulty, and hurried privately into the capital, instead of making the stately entry that he had intended. In his wake came a rich fleet of merchantmen. Their captains, also, entered the mouth of the Scheldt, unconscious of any change of base at Flushing, and the Sea Beggars seized on them all unwary, and gained possession of nearly all the vessels, containing jewels, spices, rich wares, and money to the amount of 500,000 crowns, enough to keep the war going for many a month, and serving, too, as a bait for further loans.[2] The citizens had a

[1] Thomas Morgan to Lord Burleigh, June 16th. *Rel. Politiques*, vi., 423.

[2] Orange to John, June 19, 1572. Groen, *Archives*, iii., 441.

very different feeling about adding to a good store than about wasting their guilders upon a sinking cause.

Alva received Medina Coeli with courtesy, and ordered that as much outward respect should be paid to him as to himself, but he did not resign in his favour, and there was no love lost between the twain.

Such were the events on the field of action, and Orange, meanwhile, was working to the utmost limit of his strength to collect an army. Supplies now came in from England, France, and from various private sources, so that he was freer to act than ever before. His correspondence was carried on under feigned names. He was George Certain, while Louis figured as Lambert, and the affairs under discussion were treated as business matters. Ciphers, too, were employed, but the difficulty of reading them was often great. On June 20th, Orange, in his capacity of Stadtholder of Holland, formally entrusted the local government to Count de la Mark.[1] In his instructions he reiterated what he had frequently said before: "Do everything to win the hearts of the Catholics as well as of the reformers; above all, protect both religions."

Burdened as he was by past debts,[2] the prince still found himself painfully short of necessary funds. June 24th, he went himself to Frankfort to see what

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iii., 444. Specimens of the ciphers are given in the appendix.

[2] The two expeditions of 1568 and 1572 cost 2,400,000 florins. *Ibid.*, iii., 338.

THE DUKE OF ALVA.
(From an old print of the painting by Titian.)

he could do, whence he wrote, as George Certain, to his brother Lambert, speaking piteously of his need of money. The German princes had shown some disposition to help him, but had drawn back when Maximilian, now father-in-law to Philip, issued an angry proclamation, forbidding Orange to proceed further in his rebellion.

Orange answered this on August 27th, with one of his careful justifications, rehearsing again his causes for protesting against Alva's *régime* in the Netherlands.[1]

Meantime, a very important event had taken place in Holland.[2] In June, Orange summoned the estates to convene at Dort, issuing his summons in Philip's name, as his stadtholder.[3] On July 15th they assembled. The spirits summoned from the vasty deep came, and came willingly, to the intense surprise and indignation of Alva. On the day of convention, Paul Buys, a tried friend of Orange, was elected Advocate of Holland. A recess was then taken till the 18th, when Philip Marnix, St. Aldegonde, appeared on the scene with full powers to act in Orange's behalf. He made a long, eloquent speech, rehearsing the wrongs suffered, sketching briefly the dawn of a new era, and calling upon the states to seize opportunity by the forelocks.[4]

The fire was ready, and this spark of eloquent

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 63.

[2] Hoofd, vi., 241 *et seq.*

[3] Bor, i., 386. Groen, *Archives*, iii., 471. There were four great, and eight little cities represented. *Ibid.*; *Handboek der Geschiednis van het Vaderland*, 110.

[4] Hoofd, vi., 242.

passion kindled it. Supplies were at once voted, with a liberality that simply infuriated Alva when it was reported to him, considering the great difficulty he had had in raising a little money for his debonair master.

Some regular imposts were laid and accepted, while the guilds and brotherhoods also came forth generously with loans, whose repayment was little expected. Church ornaments, too, were counted as lawful funds, while citizens brought their private plate to be melted in one furnace.

The prince was formally recognised as lawful stadtholder over Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht. He pledged himself to take no action without consulting the states, while they promised to urge the other provinces to agree to his appointment as protector of the whole land. His principle of toleration was likewise accepted, and public exercise of religion was to be permitted to all alike. De la Mark read the commission he had received from Orange, which was duly ratified.

After four years of patient waiting, events had marched more quickly than one could have dreamed. Motley[1] thinks this was an honour thrust upon the prince. I think he had sought it by all the means in his power, having really assumed authority when he issued letters of marque in 1571.

On July 8th, Orange writes as follows to Louis :[2]

"My Brother : I was rejoiced to get news from you and pray God that He may continue His favour towards

[1] *Rise of Dutch Republic*, ii., 371.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, iii., 464.

you, to preserve you from the snares of the enemy, of which I beg you to beware as much as possible, as we are sufficiently sure that there is no manœuvre too sinister, no treason too evil for them to put in operation to surprise you. I have, indeed, been informed that the Italian merchants do great service in this line. At Antwerp it is reported that the Duke of Alva will shortly have you in his power, alive or dead. But the Eternal, who is our safeguard and protector, will laugh at their designs and make them fall into the ditch they have dug. As to my news, I hope with the aid of God, to cross the Rhine to-day, having my people in the Meuse region, to choose a place between the [*pogdie*] and Guelder. I have, however, arranged as best I could to be supplied with funds, and hope that God will give us His benediction. For the rest, things go pretty well. I enclose herewith the list of my men-at-arms, besides which, Count Joost de Schauenburg, who had already taken his oath to the Bishop of Cologne for the Duke of Alva, is turned to my side, content to serve me. I hope to treat with him to-day. Nearly all Holland has declared for me. Dordrecht has received our garrison, and I have entrusted it to Monsieur de Boxtel. Gouda and Gorcum followed its example, and we took Lovestein by force. The old Turk who was a prisoner at Gorcum is still there, and we have kept Quarebbe and the pensionary Carnet at Dordrecht. Yesterday I heard that Schonhove had declared itself for us, and I sent them an envoy at once, so that I hope that the good God, who has commenced, will pursue His work to the end. I have also good hope for the town of Venloo, having written to them to that effect. For the rest, the bearer of this will tell you certain things from me, about a certain man whom we consider somewhat suspicious, beg-

ging you to take it into consideration and let me know your opinion, as well as what you think of his master. Antony Oliver knows him. I also beg you to let me hear from you often, with all the details of what force you have within the walls, what reinforcement you expect or have received, and what ambuscade is plotted against you. In short, tell me everything that happens there, so that I can act accordingly here.

"Written at Venloo, ready to depart further this 8th of July, 1572."

That same day he crossed the Rhine.[1] Four years before, he had approached the land of his adoption, and scarce a voice had been lifted to welcome him; not a city gate opened. He had retired disheartened, but not hopeless, and had spun webs in his poverty-stricken retirement, which had united that hill castle of Dillenburg to the Dutch cities. Now he returned, not yet indeed as a conqueror, but certainly with support and recognition.

Louis, meanwhile, was shut up in Mons with Don Frederic lying outside, and prepared to stay as long as Louis did.[2] In spite of the closeness of the investiture, the count had managed to dispatch Genlis to France to bring back the aid which he counted on as surely as on that from his brother, for was not Coligny in high favour with the king at

[1] Hoofd, vi., 251 *et seq.*; Strada, vii., 75. It was about this time that the *Wilhelmuslied* or *William's Song* was written, probably by St. Aldegonde. The first bar in the old form is placed at the head of the chapter. Five stanzas are given in the appendix.

[2] Bor, i., 377 *et seq.*

ALLEGORY, REPRESENTING THE COMING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. (From an engraving of 1572.)

The Netherlands personified as Andromeda. The Prince of Orange appears as Perseus to rescue her from the monster who wears the Spanish arms. The heads of Egmont, Horn, and others are in the foreground. At the right are the individual provinces with their arms.

Paris, and had not Charles written personally to Louis assuring him of his sympathy?

On July 25th, Orange wrote [1] to John telling of his capture of Roermond, where he fears his men were somewhat unrestrained towards the citizens. His need of money was nearly as great as in 1568, in spite of the change of will in the land. He says:

"It is true that the estates are assembled at Dordrecht, but they lack means to furnish me with ready money, although they hope to do so. I am expecting certain deputies daily, and will let you know of their arrival. . . . Of Louis I have heard nothing since my last letter, but it has been reported to me that Genlis with 4000 arquebusiers, 1000 foot, and several hundred horse have come to his rescue. It is rumoured that Genlis has been defeated, but that has been contradicted. When I know I will tell you."

On August 5th, another letter [2] confirms this news, although the disappointment is relieved by definite hopes of arrival of further succour from France. There is another rumour that the French troops are destined to aid Alva, instead of fighting him, but this Orange cannot believe, as the intelligence between Charles and Louis is too good, and the captains, moreover, are all Huguenots.

For a whole month Orange was detained at Roermond by the lack of funds, just when there was the greatest need of his pressing on. That this was a bitter disappointment to Louis is undoubted, but

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iii,, 481.

[2] *Ibid.*, 485.

that Orange was actuated by any feelings of jealousy is absurd.[1] Without money a large body could not move.

At last, in August, the states of Holland gave him guarantee of three months' pay, and August 27th, he crossed the Meuse, making his way through Diest, Tirlemont, Sichem, Louvain, Mechlin, Termonde, Oudenarde, and Nivelles. Some of these acknowledged his authority and accepted his garrison, others paid large sums to make him go on. Mechlin opened its gates, and he left a garrison there, for which the poor town paid heavily afterwards.

On August 11th, Orange had again written hopefully to John, more hopefully than ever before.[2] The towns were sending him money, and the prospect was brightening. He says:

"Moreover I must not fail to tell you that to-day I had letters from the admiral, informing me that, notwithstanding the late French defeat, he was levying 12,000 arquebusiers and 3000 horse, intending to come himself, something that I hope will be a great aid to us. The admiral advises me not to enter lightly into an engagement with the enemy, until we can join our forces by the grace of God. I shall follow his advice in this, only until I see an advantageous occasion."

The hoped for junction with Coligny was never to be effected, for the days of the admiral were numbered. While Louis was patiently waiting in Mons for reinforcements from the Huguenots, which should

[1] *Les Huguenots*, etc., iii., p. 68 *et seq.* This is suggested by several authors besides Michel de la Huguerye.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, iii., 488.

enable him to drive away Frederic, sitting like Mordecai at the gates, while Orange was slowly advancing towards him, the horrible tragedy of the century was preparing at Paris.

Henry of Navarre was to be married to Margaret of Valois, an alliance that rejoiced the Huguenots, as it seemed to promise them a stout ally at court. It really seems incredible that any human being could have acted with the duplicity shown by Charles, if, during all those months of affectionate intercourse with Coligny and Louis of Nassau, he had contemplated any universal massacre of the French Protestants, such as finally took place, when this wedding feast called the rejoicing Huguenots to the capital. It seems far more probable that Charles was persuaded at the last minute that there was a plot on foot to murder him, and that his only safety would be in eradicating the reformed faith, root and branch.

The facts are too well known to need more than a passing mention.[1] The nuptials of Henry and Margaret were celebrated August 24th, and on the following night, the Feast of St. Bartholomew, every Huguenot in Paris was ruthlessly murdered in bed or on the street.

At least 5000 lost their lives, while the dismay that swept over the Protestants in neighbouring lands can be better imagined than described. How the news reached Louis, and what followed, I will give from the contemporary account of one of his faithful followers, Michel de la Huguerye, whose

[1] Bor, ii., 397 ; Strada, vii., 76 ; Renon de France, i., 443 ; *Rel. Politiques*, vi., 500, 507, 510, 511.

memoirs are the main source for the history of those summer months.[1]

The defeat of Genlis had indeed been a crushing disappointment to Louis, though la Huguerye declared that nothing was to have been expected from that officer, as he had no spirit, and never had accomplished anything of value.

The besieged were very indignant that Genlis had the assurance to send to them for aid in raising his ransom, but Louis was so soft-hearted that he insisted on lending an ear to the prisoner's prayers, though against all advice. The narrator continues:

"I, too, did my best to avoid putting my hand in my purse, but the said count was so good, that at his orders I sent two hundred crowns, to my great regret, but I do not remember troubling myself further about his deliverance. . . .

"Just as we began to forget this disaster, one night, it was the 28th of August, we heard a heavy cannonading which made us suspect that some enterprise was on foot against the city.

"On the morrow we found some poor fugitives from Genlis's army, hidden near the gates by the Spaniards, for the express purpose of bringing us the news of the death of the admiral, which happened five days ago on St. Bartholomew's Day. They said that a great number of poor Christians were also slain, so that we could no longer expect succour, and had better capitulate."

The poor patriots utterly refused, at first, to credit this tale, but two reformed ministers,

[1] Vol. i., 128 *et seq.*; also Renon de France, i., 439; and *Rel. Politiques*, vi., 443.

d'Amours and de la Porte, arrived a few days later and told the whole story of the tragedy, which by that date was "notorious to the whole world."

Poor Louis "conceived such bitter sorrow over the deed of Paris, that he was ill for three months."[1] He had spent much time in France during the past year, and had been on intimate terms, not only with Coligny and his Protestant friends, but with the king and the very Catholic nobles who had now dealt this cruel and treacherous blow. To a warm, trusting nature like that of Louis, it was a bitter disappointment indeed, to find that his confidence had been misplaced. After consulting de la Noue, in la Huguerye's presence, the count drew up a dispatch to the prince, urging him to come on as quickly as possible, to force the besiegers back, and cut off the supplies expected by Alva. "And since the King of France is so out of humour as to refuse a fine tidbit[2] (and in truth never did French king have a better chance), perhaps the Queen of England will have a sounder appetite."

Louis thought that indignation against the Catholics might be used as a lever to rouse Protestants everywhere, and was convinced that Elizabeth was just ready to come forth as a champion.

Alva, according to la Huguerye, professed great horror at the deed of St. Bartholomew; said he would rather have cut off his right hand than have struck such a blow, and at once offered fair terms to Louis. Above all things the count dreaded lest the prince

[1] Bor, i., 408.

[2] "*Morcel.*"

should now be discouraged,—hence his dispatch. The soldiers within Mons began to lose heart, but promised not to abandon Louis, "who had a gift of speech, and, moreover, was so well fashioned in France under the admiral's tuition, that, by asking, he could obtain his desire."

After taking Roermond, Orange pressed on towards Mons, anxious to relieve Louis.[1] He was somewhat encouraged by the successes on the way, as Mechlin, Termonde, Oudenarde, and other places opened their gates more or less willingly. Where he was when the news of St. Bartholomew reached him I do not know. He wrote to John later[2] that not only he, but everyone in Europe had been completely unprepared for such an event; it had struck him like a thunderbolt. "Usually," he adds, "wiseacres declare that they knew what was in the wind, but who would dare say that now?" Not only is hope of aid from France crushed forever, but Charles has furnished Alva with funds. Most of this letter is in cipher. It was not a time to trust to any man's honesty.

By early September, Orange arrived in the neighbourhood of Mons, and finally pitched his camp at Hermigny, within half a league of the city, while Don Frederic, with the besieging army, was at the village of Saint Florian, close up to one of the gates of Mons.

On the night of September 11th, Julian Romero led a small force of six hundred men to Hermigny. The

[1] Hoofd, vii., 253 *et seq.*

[2] Groen, *Archives*, iii., 501.

THE NETHERLANDS
AND REGIONS ADJACENT —
C. 1550
TERRITORY UNDER RULE OF HOUSE OF BURGUNDY IN THE 14TH, 15TH & 16TH CENTURIES
FRONTIERS OF FRANCE & GERMAN EMPIRE
North Sea
Zuyder Zee
NORWICH
YARMOUTH
IPSWICH
CANTERBURY
DOVER
CALAIS
BOULOGNE
EU
AMIENS
PONTHIEU
ARTOIS
FLANDERS
HAINAUT
BRABANT
LIMBURG
LUXEMBURG
NAMUR
GELDERLAND
OVERYSSEL
FRIESLAND
GRONINGEN
DRENTHE
OSNABRÜCK
MUNSTER
CLEVES
MARK
JÜLICH
BERG
NASSAU
TREVES
PALATINATE
LORRAIN
ALSACE
FRANCHE
SUNDGAU
BREISGAU
BASEL
SWITZERLAND
BURGUNDY
NEVERS
CHAMPAGNE
ILE DE FRANCE
BAR
VERMANDOIS
DUNKIRK
OSTENDE
BRUGES
GHENT
ANTWERP
BRUSSELS
LOUVAIN
MECHLIN
LIERRE
DIXMUDE
YPRES
COURTRAI
LILLE
TOURNAY
DOUAY
ARRAS
CAMBRAI
VALENCIENNES
MONS
NIVELLES
NAMUR
DINANT
CHARLEMONT
GIVET
MARIENBURG
PHILIPPEVILLE
ST. HUBERT
MONTMEDY
BOUILLON
SEDAN
CHIMAY
ARLON
VIANDEN
DIEDENHOFEN
THIONVILLE
METZ
PONT A MOUSSON
TOUL
NANCY
VERDUN
CHALONS
RHEIMS
SOISSONS
COMPIÈGNE
NOYON
ST. QUENTIN
PERONNE
MONTDIDIER
CRECY
ST. POL
AIRE
AIRE-LA-CHAPELLE
AACHEN
JÜLICH
DUREN
BONN
COBLENTZ
DILLENBURG
TREVES
LUXEMBURG
MAESTRICHT
LIEGE
HUY
THORN
ROERMOND
VENLOO
NEUSS
ELBERFELD
DORTMUND
MUNSTER
ARNHEM
NYMEGEN
GRAVE
BOIS LE DUC
BREDEVOORT
ZUTPHEN
DEVENTER
LINGEN
STEINFURT
MEPPEN
COEVORDEN
STEENWYK
HASSELT
ZWOLLE
HARDERWICK
AMERSFORT
UTRECHT
UTRECHT
ARNEMEN
GORINCHEM
GORCUM
DORDRECHT
ROTTERDAM
DELFT
SCHONHOVEN
LEYDEN
HAARLEM
AMSTERDAM
ALKMAR
EGMONT
ENKHUIZEN
HORN
MEDEMBLIK
HARLINGEN
LEEUWARDEN
DOKKUM
GRONINGEN
DAM
SNEEK
ASSEN
STAVOREN
BOLSWARD
LEER
AURICH
EMDEN
NORDEN
JEVER
OLDENBURG
ZIERIKZEE
VEERE
MIDDELBURG
SLUIS
BORSSELE
DAMME
HULST
BERGEN OP ZOOM
BREDA
GERTRUIDENBERG
CODE
ORANGE
CASSEL
ST. OMER
AIRE
ACHICOURT
CRECY
ST. POL
ABBEVILLE
EU
PONTHIEU
BOULOGNE
CALAIS
GRAVELINES
DUNKIRK
OSTENDE
BRUGES
DAMME
SLUIS
VEERE
ZIERIKZEE
DORDRECHT
GORCUM
GORINCHEM
UTRECHT
AMERSFORT
ZUTPHEN
DEVENTER
LINGEN
STEINFURT
MEPPEN
COEVORDEN
STEENWYK
HASSELT
ZWOLLE
HARDERWICK
ARNHEM
NYMEGEN
GRAVE
BOIS LE DUC
BREDEVOORT
MUNSTER
DORTMUND
CLEVES
WESEL
XANTEN
EMMERICH
ELBERFELD
NEUSS
ROERMOND
VENLOO
THORN
MAESTRICHT
LIEGE
HUY
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COMINES
YPRES
COURTRAI
OUDENARDE
BRUSSELS
LOUVAIN
MECHLIN
LIERRE
ANTWERP
GHENT
BRUGES
DAMME
SLUIS
BORSSELE
BERGEN OP ZOOM
BREDA
GERTRUIDENBERG
CODE
ORANGE
MIDDELBURG

night was dark, and they had put their shirts outside of their armour to distinguish each other in the obscurity. Silently as snow they succeeded in surprising the sentinels, cutting them down like grass, and thus gained a way into the sleeping camp. Orange heard no noise, and slept quietly on until aroused by a little spaniel that was sleeping at his feet.[1] Not content with barking, the little creature licked his master's face. The prince sprang out of bed, seized a horse that was ready saddled, and rode off in the darkness.[2] His men were less fortunate. Six hundred perished, many who escaped the sword being driven back into a neighbouring stream. The Spanish loss was small, Mondoucet putting it at sixty.

According to la Huguerye, St. Aldegonde managed to make his way into Mons to tell Louis of the repulse and the prince's resolve to fall back to Mechlin to refresh his men. Louis saw little hope of relief after this, and finally consented to a parley with Don Frederic. Noircarmes was one of the Spanish envoys. After some consultation the capitulation was arranged on the following terms:

The count and his adherents should be escorted by four companies to Roermond. The Nassau troops could retain their arms, but were to march out without colours flying or drums beating. Four hostages should accompany Louis to Roermond for protection to his person, and to insure the completion of the treaty. His French allies might stay with him

[1] The prince is frequently represented with a little dog at his feet, in commemoration of this incident.

[2] Hoofd, vii., 254.

or be conducted into France as far as the tree of Guise.[1] The treaty was signed by the Duke of Alva, Don Frederic, Noircarmes, and other deputies on both sides.

The count was so affected at leaving the beautiful place that his illness became more serious, and he was obliged to submit to bleeding.[2] Nevertheless he gave orders to depart immediately. He was particularly anxious about the fate of the French, as he felt that he and the prince were under great obligations to them. France was still red with blood, so that to return thither was to enter the slaughter-house, and he advised them to have a little patience and stay with him. The prince would support the regiment of artillery, 1200 strong, and four companies of cavalry, at reasonable pay, while the gentlemen who did not wish to join the companies should be treated according to their rank. The majority, however, refused these offers, accepted the escort to the tree of Guise, and attempted to save themselves. It was an ill choice. Troops lay in wait on the border and cut them to pieces. One portion saved themselves by means of their friends, aided by the fact that the Duke de Longueville, Governor of Picardy, was not very rigorous.

"I have not mentioned the word that Count Louis received from the prince by T'Serraets, Governor of Flushing, to say that the maritime provinces of Zealand, Holland, and Friesland had resolved to follow the example of Flushing, and nothing else ill had happened except the arrival of the English, who wanted to be

[1] Situated on the French frontier near Avesnes.

[2] Bor, i., 408.

masters, jealous at seeing so many French sent by the admiral.

"On Sept. 21st all was ready. At an early hour our troops were drawn up in line of battle, in the middle of the square before the town house. The count, who had been bled in the morning, entered a chariot with Captain Alain, a Provençal gentleman of his household, who was also ill, and ordered me not to abandon his chariot, and to send my man and luggage with his household. The gates were already held by the duke, who had put Noircarmes in charge. The latter came to advise the count respectfully, that he might depart when he pleased, both escort and hostages being ready, and that the Duke of Alva was so anxious to keep his promise that he would trust no other nation but the Spaniards themselves, whom in truth we found, as we went out, on both sides of the road, doing us much honour and sharing their powder and 'mèche' with our men who were out of both.

"They displayed indeed such zeal, that when a rascal in their ranks dared to take the hat off of one of our soldiers, Noircarmes, who chanced to be near him, ran his sword through his heart and threw the dead body into the fields.

"As we drew near our hostages and escort, Don Frederic of Toledo, Alva's son, sent by his father to greet the count, appeared. He sent forward a gentleman with his greeting and assurances in his father's name that all the promises should be fulfilled, and begging him to do his part. The count, accordingly, sent me to return his salutations, and to say that he had never doubted that promises were made in good faith, and begged him to believe that he would fail in nothing on his part. The French allies took their way to France, while the others went towards Maestricht and Roermond, fairly well accompanied, but with few French.

"At six leagues from Mons, Louis's troops stopped at a pretty village, but when we aided the count to descend from his chariot to take him to his room, he was so weak that he fainted in our arms, was restored by remedies, and went to bed. . . .

"When we reached Roermond the escort and hostages took their leave and returned. It is worthy of remark that in a retreat of eight days we did not receive a single insult, so well was order maintained on both sides. . . .

"Soon after our arrival, the prince disbanded his army, and, after consulting with Louis, decided to cross the Rhine at Emmerich with the small force he had retained, and to return to Holland, while the count should go to Germany for rest and take me with him. So they bade each other farewell after spending four days together, and we went to Cologne. . . .

"Nothing astonished me more in the count's retreat than the fact that, when we reached Cologne, the magistrates were so ill advised that they would not let us use the Nassau house, a fine mansion in the town. In spite of his wretched state of health, the count was kept waiting for some time, and was then obliged to lodge in Deutz, outside the city, in the Jews' quarter. This action on the part of these timid gentlemen will cost them dear for a long time to come. They ought to have been wise enough to depend on their neutrality, and not turn with every wind, especially when they had just seen the count honourably treated by his enemies.

"The count arrived at Dillenburg towards the end of October. After a little rest and careful nursing from his mother, who loved him tenderly, Louis was soon able to attend to business, in which Count John, of Nassau, living in the castle, was quite unskilled and unable to do anything without the assistance of the said count."

CHAPTER XX.

BELEAGUERED TOWNS.

1572–1573.

THE shadow of success gained by the people who dared resist his authority, exasperated Alva beyond measure. Other events had not sweetened his temper, and perhaps the arrival of Medina Coeli to supersede him in his thankless task, whetted his determination to show his power.[1]

He had behaved well towards Louis, but made up for that restraint by treating Mons with the utmost cruelty, while he punished Mechlin almost to annihilation, and made a desperate effort to re-establish Philip's authority throughout Zealand.

By a brilliant manœuvre, the Spaniards, who showed as much courage as though they were fighting for a personal cause, succeeded in wresting the

[1] Alva relinquished no authority to Medina Coeli. In November, 1573, the latter finally departed without taking his leave.

town of Ter Goes from T'Serraets, commanding for the prince in Zealand.[1]

From Mechlin, Alva and his son, Don Frederic, turned towards the north, and succeeded in regaining the towns of Zutphen and Naarden, which both held out bravely for themselves, in the prince's name. The cruelty with which the inhabitants of these unfortunate places were treated, seems as incredible as it was disgusting.[2]

When Naarden formally capitulated, Julian Romero, commissioned to treat in Don Frederic's name, solemnly assured the deputies that the lives and property of all inhabitants should be respected.[3] The keys were accordingly delivered, and the commissioners escorted Romero with five or six hundred musketeers back into the city. One Senator Gerrit, entertained the officers, while the rest of the invaders were hospitably feasted by the burghers, willing to propitiate their conquerors. When the banquets were concluded, Romero and his host, Gerrit, walked out together to the *Gast Huis* church, whither all the people had been summoned by the ringing of the great bell. Five hundred folk were quietly waiting together, when a priest entered the building, and bade all prepare for death. The warning, preparation, and death were simultaneous. In rushed the Spaniards with shot and sword, and the defenceless

[1] The Spanish troops under Mondragon and a Flemish royalist captain, marched three and a half leagues at low tide, October 20th, from one island of Zealand to another, to relieve the city of Ter Goes. The patriot soldiers fled in fear on seeing their foe rise up out of the sea.

[2] Hoofd, vii., 266.

[3] *Ibid.*, 256 *et. seq.*

crowd were slaughtered, one and all, like mice in a trap. Senator Gerrit, standing at the side of his Spanish guest, perished with the rest. In a few minutes the church was set on fire, so whether the wounds were mortal or not, it was all one to the sufferers. Out of doors the carnage was even more frightful, as the victims were ill-treated, mutilated, tortured,[1] in every way suggested by the imagination of the soldiers, rendered almost maniacs by their own deeds, so that horrors were born from horrors. According to Hoofd, hardly a man, woman, or child survived, the fortifications were dismantled, and Naarden became a geographical expression. This took place about the last week in November, and then Don Frederic moved on towards Harlem. The people had revolted from legalised murder with pretence of the law's formalities, and they met the dire results of unequal conflict.[2]

After saying farewell to Louis, the prince decided to return to Holland. He was in sorry case. His soldiers lost all heart after the fall of Mons, and their disappointment at receiving no pay grew into furor. Finally they turned savagely against the prince and threatened to deliver him over to Alva.[3]

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[1] Hoofd was Protestant and partisan, but his details are supported by the Catholic Renon.

[2] November 7th, the prince wrote to Julian Romero, who had sent him "three or four letters full of courtesies," that he was glad to be remembered, would certainly approve of war being less cruel, but that he must decline an interview.

[3] Theodore Juste says that when Orange was about to cross the Rhine at Orsay, a German adventurer named Heist crept into his camp, intending to murder him under Alva's orders. This danger he luckily escaped.—*Guillaume le Taciturne*, p. 137.

Orange was forced to sell his remaining ammunition and artillery to satisfy their demands, and then he let his army scatter, retaining only sixty men. After putting Zutphen in a state of defence, he turned with his little escort towards Kampen.

On October 18th he wrote[1] from Zwolle to John:

"Owing to the fall of Mons and the dismissal of my German mercenaries, cities on all sides have lost heart, and I perceive a great change everywhere, even the warmest sympathisers are discouraged, not because they have less affection for the cause than formerly, but because they are terrified to death, and I fear that in the end I shall find myself alone, abandoned by every one, unless God perform a miracle. . . . One place after another has ceased resisting the Spaniards. No sooner was I out of Roermond than the soldiers abandoned it."

After enumerating the cities whose inhabitants had weakly succumbed, he adds: "In short, there are more than forty companies of foot, according to Henry's reckoning, who have fled ignominiously without knowing why, and before they had received any news of the enemy's approach. If this continue, I see no way of holding out." How little availed the garrison left at Zutphen[2] has already been mentioned, and that had been the one town the prince thought he left secure.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 2.

[2] Nuenar wrote to Count Louis: "It is rumoured that last Sunday a frightful outcry and sound of slaughter was heard from Zutphen, but, as yet, no one knows what it means."—*Ibid.*, 28.

Two days after writing the above letter, the prince arrived at Kampen, with his own retinue and about sixty horse. Some galleys were sent over from Enkhuizen, and finally he succeeded in making that port, in the face of pressing dangers.[1]

Bor goes on to say that his arrival in Holland was exceedingly necessary to encourage the reformers who had lost heart, so that even the most zealous were almost ready to relinquish the unequal contest, or to flee the land forever. His presence, too, was greatly needed to check the lawless ravages of his own marines, who, as Beggars of the Sea, were striking terror into the hearts of friends as well as foe. After landing at Enkhuizen, the prince made his way down through Holland and arrived at Dordrecht, some time in November.

There are almost no letters from his hand, written during these dreary, hopeless autumn months, when everything seemed slipping from his grasp. Gradually Guelderland, Overyssel, and Friesland were reclaimed by the Spaniards, and made to pay a harsh penalty for having faltered in their allegiance.

From Naarden, Don Frederic turned towards Harlem. This was only five miles from Amsterdam, which, alone of the northern towns, had never de-

[1] Den 20 is hy met syn Hofgesin en omtrent 60 peerden tot Campenge komen : die van Enkhuyzen daer van veradverteert zynde, so hebben sy eenige galeyen gesonden . . . om hem te halen en is zonder eenige tegenspoet tot Enkhuyzen gekomen, en met grooter vreuchd ontvangen.—Groen, *Archives*, iv., 6.

At Enkhuizen he ordered a rampart erected, which the citizens completed in so short a time that it was called the "*Willigenberg*"—Good-Will Rampart.

clared for the prince, and was now Alva's chief vantage-ground.

Harlem was not in the least taken by surprise. During the autumn she had made brave preparations for sustaining the siege that was inevitable. On his way from Enkhuizen, the prince stopped at the city and gave the burghers all the encouragement in his power.

While there, he wrote on Nov. 1st, to the burgomasters and citizens of Amsterdam,[1] begging them to second his efforts to oppose Alva, and signifying his willingness to come to them if they wished him, but his advances met with no response from that quarter. A timidity, natural enough to a commercial people, made them hesitate in the face of the terrible unsuccess they had seen.

Nor was this faint-heartedness confined to Amsterdam. The Harlem magistrates were infected by their fear, and actually sent three of their number to enter into secret negotiations with Alva, but their intentions were frustrated by Ripperda, the patriot commander of the garrison.[2] Two of the magistrates were executed by the populace, after a pretence of a trial, and St. Aldegonde, under the direction of the prince, appointed a complete new corporation.

[1] *Kronijk van het historische gezelschap te Utrecht*, 1854, p. 160. According to Motley (ii., 413), the prince appeared before an assembly of the states at Harlem, which had met at his request, and unfolded his plans, under injunctions of such absolute secrecy that no records of the session exist. It is probable that he entered more fully into the state of his negotiations with England and into the possible resumption by Count Louis of his private intercourse with the French court, than it was safe to divulge at that date.

[2] Hoofd, vii., 272 *et seq.*

Don Frederic rested a little at Amsterdam after his labours, and then proceeded towards Harlem. On December 11th, he regularly invested the city, and under cover of the mist succeeded in placing 30,000 men around it. A mist is naturally as friendly to one party as another, and under the same shelter the Harlem folk succeeded in bringing supplies into their threatened town from Harlem Lake,[1] where Orange had managed to erect several forts. On the 18th, the mist lifted, permitting the citizens to see the line of investiture, which the Spaniards had made entirely around the town. No more supplies could be brought in, and the citizens knew that they were henceforth dependent on their stores. More than stores, they had courage to a wonderful extent. The story of this siege is well known. Mr. Motley relates it in such detail, that it would be needless to repeat it from the same sources and without his pen.

The faint-hearted magistrates disposed of, every man, woman, and child identified themselves heart and soul with the cause. One and all were determined to keep the Spaniards at bay as long as possible. A body of three hundred women were organised as one company, and did valiant service under Kenauw Simon Hasselaar, a widow forty-seven years old.[2] All sorts of irregular weapons were used, without regard to military tactics. Every missile that could inflict damage was hurled at the besiegers, and burning tar and boiling oil were poured down on

[1] The great lake is now completely drained.

[2] *Eene noodige mannin.* Hoofd, vii., 275.

their luckless heads. Don Frederic bombarded the walls for three days, but the people worked day and night to repair the breaches and with good result.[1] Orange was often at Sassenheim, at the east end of Harlem Lake, and watched every opportunity of aiding and encouraging the besieged, sending frequent letters by carrier pigeons. His whole force, collected through Holland, amounted to between 3000 and 4000 men,[2] and these he sent, about the middle of December, toward the city under command of la Mark, who, unfortunately, accepted an encounter in which he gained nothing and lost a thousand men.

Savage cruelties were permitted in his camps which the Spaniards repaid in kind, and it seemed indeed as though the spirit of humanity had fled to brutish beasts and men had lost their reason.

On January 18th, Orange wrote[3] a short note to Ripperda, begging him to hold out, and assuring him that their friends were trying to succour them. He was indeed leaving no stone unturned to find aid. Boisot and other messengers had crossed the North Sea to Elizabeth, who accorded them only vague and uncertain answers.[4]

Charles IX. and his mother sent one Fregose to Dillenburg to confer with Louis, and make secret

[1] In January he succeeded in making a breach in the walls, and discovered that the citizens had built up a wall within, to be ready for such an event.

[2] The Spanish force numbered about 30,000.—Hoofd, vii., 275.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 48. This was sent into Harlem, cut in small pieces, and carried by pigeons.

[4] Hoofd, vii., 277.

offers of assistance. La Huguerye describes[1] quaintly how they feared to receive this messenger, whom he, as well as Louis, had known well in days when they had all been trustful in Paris. At first he was denied audience by Louis, who was still an invalid. Finally, the count, attired in a long dressing-gown—possibly the same one in which he left Mons,—came out in a gallery and received the Frenchman, though with distrust; the conversation was cold and Fregose departed, not encouraged by his mission.

Louis and John were sufficiently discouraged to give heed to the advice of their German friends, who assured them it was all up with their cause, dependence on France was in vain, and that reconciliation with Spain was the only course open to them.[2] The emperor offered to act as mediator, and negotiations were actually begun.

On February 5th, Orange wrote[3] from Delft to his brothers, thanking them as usual for their warm interest and aid, and specifying the terms on which he would make peace: Liberty of conscience and of worship—restoration of ancient privileges,—and expulsion of the Spanish garrisons. Likewise he thought that the king ought to pay his (Orange's) soldiers—which was certainly a futile hope,—and then Philip would see that the public peace was his aim and

"that I am not opinionated against what is reasonable.

[1] Vol. i., 153. During his stay at Dillenburg, la Huguerye took his meals with the nine little boys, Count John's sons and nephews, in order to accustom them to French conversation.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 49. [3] *Ibid.*

But the difficulty lies in this point, whether from our past experience we can trust their assurances, when we know that they have vowed to consider such contracts as null and void. They persuade themselves that promises to heretics can be absolved by the pope, so they do not consider themselves bound. Such being the case, I wish the princes would consult among themselves, and make suggestions on what we should consider reliable. As for me, I confess I could not depend on my assurances, at least on anything the king would be likely to accept. So do discuss it, and if you hit on some advisable course, let me know. I will not fail to agree on my part, and influence the estates as much as I can.

"As regards your coming here, I do not consider it expedient or suitable for your person, or worth while for the cause, to risk it, but I should think it better to go to Emden and take the sea with two or three well-equipped boats."

He ends with saying that it is vain to count on aid from England.[1]

In March, Orange wrote[2] as follows to Louis:

"In your last letter you speak of my shortly receiving good news. Not knowing what that may be, suspecting that it may concern the treaty of peace, I beg you to let

[1] The prince expected nothing from Elizabeth's wavering policy, but he hoped for some assistance from the reformed churches in England, and in this he was not disappointed.

It chanced about this time that a new decree of Philip, upon the inquisition, fell into the hands of one of the few existing Huguenots in France, which was promptly forwarded to Orange in hopes that some use of it might be made to rouse the people.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 72.

me know the truth by the earliest convenience, so that I can know how to act. For my part, it seems very important to consider whether in proposing conditions and articles on which to base an accord, we may not be laying ourselves open to the accusation that we wish to dictate laws to our superiors. Even the form the admiral used does not seem to me permissible from a subject or vassal towards his liege.[1] Would it not be better to suggest that they propose the conditions, and that we then decide whether we can accept or not? Thus, besides the fact that we would then remain entirely within our rights *(en nôtre entier)* we would earn praise for our modesty. I beg you to ponder this. As to affairs here, the Harlemers hold on valiantly, although there is a dearth of provisions, and the people are so weary of war that they are lax in their duty, and you can judge how difficult it will be to prolong the effort. For my part, I see no possibility of raising the siege, so I beg you to see what you can suggest, either by a grand levy, or by rousing the princes to act in unison. It would be a shame to let worthy people perish so. If they fall after such a staunch resistance, it will be easy to predict the effect on other towns. . . . Use your discretion and take care of your person. All the country is longing for you like the *angel Gabriel.*"

It is strange that anyone should have had faith in a negotiation which was so fruitless on the face of it, but the efforts to further it were made in all sincerity. In May, John of Nassau went to Cologne,[2]

[1] This paragraph is in German.

[2] The mainspring of Philip's attempts at reconciliation was his desire to be successor to the emperor. He was ready to promise the German princes that, if they would confer the crown upon him, he

expressly on this mission of peace, while the Landgrave of Hesse professed his readiness to act as mediator, thinking that a peace between Philip and his subjects might be established on the model of the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.

Some time in May, Orange wrote [1] to Louis that he was afraid of the emperor's intervention.

"And as to the other and chief part of your letter touching the mission of Fregose, I must frankly tell you of the deep-rooted distrust that the states, individually and collectively, entertain towards the king, on account of his late enormity. If we are to be under any tyrant, it is surely better to be tyrannised over by one's natural prince than by a stranger. This opinion is deeply rooted in the heart of every one, as is reasonable."

There was another difficulty that Orange had to contend with at this time, similar to one that beset Washington in the early years of the Revolution.

would withdraw the Spaniards from the Netherlands, would reunite the provinces to the imperial circle, would restore the Prince of Orange and all his accomplices to their former possessions and dignities, and would permit the same religious observances as were allowed in the rest of Germany. Thus powerful was ambition in changing his view. But he was disappointed, and the conditions he then interposed as a peace basis rendered the negotiations nugatory. —Groen, *Archives*, iv., 19.

In March, Philip made a new treaty with Elizabeth, who was also in constant correspondence with Orange. On April 10th, Louis of Nassau wrote to the queen begging her to marry Alençon.—*Rel. Politiques*, vi., 675 *et seq.*

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 113. May 15th the prince made a treaty with English merchants, allowing them to enter the Scheldt, having left their artillery in Zealand, in return for which they were to supply him with means to buy ammunition in England.—*Ibid.*, 94.

This was that he had not sufficient despotic power, but was compelled to lend an ear to many advisers.

Public opinion clamoured for a further attempt to rescue Harlem.[1] A volunteer force of about 4000 men was collected, determined to make one desperate effort at relief. The prince proposed to lead this forlorn hope himself, but the states refused to allow this, and it was entrusted to one Batenburg, who hoped to be reinforced by German troops in the woods. The expedition was as foolhardy as it was generous, for what could this untrained band do against Spanish veterans?

It was sympathy against judgment, and nothing short of a miracle could have prevented failure. No miracle came. The plucky volunteers were cut to pieces. This was the last hope for Harlem.[2] Further

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 169; Hoofd, vii., 279.

[2] "And I let pass nothing which might contribute to this result, and at the very last, at the instance of the states and the people, tried to re-victual it, although the enterprise was very hazardous and against my judgment."—Orange to Louis, August 10th. Groen, *Archives*, iv., 175.

As Orange wrote in the above letter: "The Spanish troops were greatly disappointed in the booty they expected from Harlem, as Don Frederic had taken it all, and they mutinied to the number of forty companies, seizing the city, and chasing out colonels, captains, and all the other officers—even Julian Romero, who saved himself by flight." The mutiny was regularly organised, and a chief was elected with whom Alva was forced to make terms. Hoofd says (viii., 304), though without vouching for the truth of this statement, that a party of twelve mutineers, disguised as merchants, visited the prince at Delft, were admitted to his bedroom, and offered to deliver over Harlem for 40,000 guilders. Lack of funds alone prevented him from accepting this offer—"niet wetende zoo viel by een te schraapen."

resistance at such odds was useless, and the city yielded. The articles of capitulation were signed July 12th, and two days later the Spaniards entered the city and commenced a regular massacre; 1735 persons were hung, beheaded, and drowned.[1]

The profound discouragement caused by this surrender after seven months' resistance against the greatest odds, can be better imagined than described. Alva makes a statement in a letter to Philip, that at Delft the people were so indignant at the prince for his failure to relieve the besieged, that they threatened to sack his house.[2]

Don Frederic lost no time after the sack of Harlem in turning to the north, and on July 16th he reached Alkmaar.[3] This was a pretty little city, the strongest in the narrow sandy strip of North Holland, lying halfway between the North Sea and the Zuider-Zee.[4]

Strange that the good people there should have dared to resist, but they were ready for the attack, and held out firmly for six weeks, though they had a garrison of but eight hundred men. At the end of that period (October 8th) Don Frederic raised the siege and turned southwards.[5] For the first time

[1] Spanish authorities make this number 3000.

[2] Juliana of Nassau wrote to Louis, July 21st, that she is pained for the prince to hear of Harlem's sad fate, but as her news came from a Papist city, she can only hope that it is false.—Groen, *Archives*, iv., 173.

[3] Strada, vii., 81.

[4] Between the North and South Seas, though the Zuider-Zee is not translated in the English name.

[5] Dispatches from Orange, ordering General Sonoy, who had replaced la Mark in Holland, to open the dykes and bring in the

THE DEFEAT OF BOSSU.
(From an old copperplate.)

since Orange had crossed the Zuider-Zee, the advances of the Spaniards were checked.[1]

There were two or three other slight gains. The patriots succeeded in resisting an effort to retake Zealand; Gertruidenberg, a town belonging to Orange in Brabant, was wrested from the Spaniards; the Spanish fleet was defeated near Enkhuizen, and Bossu,[2] the commander, was taken prisoner. On the other hand, Philip Marnix had been surprised at Maaslandsluis, and fallen into the hands of the Spaniards.[3] Lucky it was for the safety of his person that Bossu lost his liberty at about the same time, as the prince immediately declared that Bossu should receive exactly the same treatment as Marnix.

In the month of October, the prince took a step that separated him for ever from "our true and ancient religion," as well as from the Confession of Augsburg.

On October 23d, a certain Bartholdus Wilhelmi, a minister living at Dordrecht, wrote[4] to one of the London churches:

"BROTHERS: I must hasten to inform you that the Prince of Orange, our pious stadtholder, has joined the

sea, and thus force the Spaniards away from their position, fell into Don Frederic's hands. He concluded that discretion was the better part of valour, and promptly decamped. The ground was already moist and fit only for frogs—none could have stayed but fishes.—Hoofd, vii., 311.

[1] In the summer of 1892, Alkmaar had a population of 14,000, 6000 of whom were Catholics.

[2] Bossu was royalist Governor of Holland, and did not, of course, recognise any divided authority with the prince.

[3] Orange to Louis.—Groen, *Archives*, iv., 231.

[4] *Ibid.*, 226.

congregation, broken the Master's bread with the people, and submitted to discipline."

There are no private letters about this very important event in the story of the prince's character. It was evidently necessary that he should identify himself with some communion, and it must be remembered that Louis was a whole-souled, ardent Calvinist. He had felt the influence of Geneva, and he was not of a nature to be troubled by hair-splitting doubts. To him the truth was the truth, and there were no two sides. His brother was different in every fibre.

In 1567, he had said to the differing congregations: "*Het geschil is te kleen om gesplijt te blijven.*"[1] Undoubtedly that was still his personal opinion.[2] But it was now plain that he was to be the political head of the people. It seemed, therefore, better to identify himself with the strongest sect, and from that vantage-ground to protect the others. Expediency was the mainspring of his action, but it was a very honest expediency. How difficult toleration was to comprehend, is proved by the fact that even the Calvinists did not trust him wholly, looking with suspicion on his kindness towards those out of their communion.

[1] "The difference is too slight for you to remain separated."—Hoofd, iv., 132.

[2] In October, he took another step, which showed that he still regarded Catholics as fellow human beings. His captain, la Mark, who had done valiant service on the sea and cruel misdeeds on the land, passed the limits of endurance in his persecution of the Catholics, and the prince arrested him and kept him in prison until the end of 1574.

The activity of the prince at this time was prodigious. No possibility in any direction did he leave untouched. No chance of obtaining aid, or of rousing public sympathy, did he neglect. His letters to his brothers are incessant, long, and detailed. To them he left the affairs with the German princes. For himself he had some faith in France.[1] Not because he trusted either Charles IX. or Catherine, but he saw reasons why the latter should be interested in effacing the impression of St. Bartholomew, and he thought that interested motives were safer to rely upon than sympathy.

He had said to his brothers, and said truly, that a change from one tyrant to another was both futile and useless, but with the struggle his opinion changed. Catherine had voluntarily turned towards the German Protestants, because the elective throne of Poland had become vacant in July, 1572,[2] and she wished to seat her third son, the Duke of Anjou, upon it. In this ambition she was gratified. In the autumn of 1573, she accompanied the king-elect to the boundaries, on his way to his new kingdom.[3]

[1] Michelet (x., 4), in commenting on the history of the Protestant negotiations with Catholic France, still reeking with the blood of St. Bartholomew, says: "Nous entrons dans un pays étrange et nouveau, la *terra incognita*, comme disent les anciens géographes. Dans cette terre inconnue ne nous étonnons pas si nous voyons surgir les monstres. . . . Un Dieu blafard à masque blême, trone à la place de la religion, *Politique*.

[2] De Thou, liii., 448.

[3] La Huguerye, i., 188. There was even a suggestion that the Prince of Orange should be raised to this dignity, as the Protestant party in Poland was in the ascendant.

The new king was hospitably entertained by the German princes

Since Fregose's mission to Louis in 1572, there had been several attempts at negotiation, when Charles had made veiled offers of support and assistance. What Orange then thought on the subject has already been quoted. The way of the negotiator was hard, as distrust and suspicion met him at every turn.

Louis's messenger to Catherine ventured to take high ground. On one occasion, Catherine, somewhat chagrined at his persistence in demanding vouchers for all promises, asked proudly, "Is not the word of a king sufficient?" "By St. Bartholomew, it is not, madame!" answered the gentleman, rather impudently. The one desire of both Catherine and her sons was now to convince the German princes, whose support was necessary for the Polish king, that the massacre of 1572 had been unpremeditated.[1] Anjou wrote to Schomberg, the confidential agent of the French court:

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through whose estates he passed, but the sore subject of St. Bartholomew marred the pleasure of these feasts. The Landgrave of Hesse went to his chateau of Rotherham near Carlsbad for the express purpose of receiving the royal traveller. "The landgrave, who was no mean scholar, spoke very strongly about the deed of Paris, and the King of Poland defended the slaughter with arguments from Machiavelli. Whereupon the landgrave turned on him so roughly that his voice could he heard on the street, saying that a Christian had no business to follow Machiavellian precepts. Then seeing the king at a loss for another word, he cooled down and turned the subject to the affairs of the Prince of Orange." —La Huguerye, i., 200.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 266. Michelet says that in this Polish scheme Catherine was aided by the singular alliance of the Turks, the pope, and the German Lutherans.

"You may assure the princes that all we have written about affairs in this realm is true; events happened unexpectedly, and with no premeditation. The king and I have never had any understanding with the King of Spain against those of the religion, and that it is nothing but lies that are daily repeated to the princes, as you will hear further from the Count de Retz."

This was in November, 1572, and the same argument was repeated in all the letters and interviews which followed between the Nassau brothers and the French envoys during the following year. How much credit was really given to the words, no one can tell. For myself, I think the prince gave none, but that, as above mentioned, he understood Catherine's motives perfectly.

A letter from Louis to Charles IX.,[1] written in June, shows that he, too, had a fair knowledge of the character with whom he was dealing. It is fairly plain speaking from man to man. After the usual generalities, Louis said he had noticed a fear on the king's part lest he might dictate to him on his affairs. That was something the count had no intention of doing, but at the same time he would like to make a suggestion to the king. It was well known that Charles's reputation had suffered grievously, as could be seen by caricatures, libellous pamphlets, and all

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 81. Michelet says (x., 28): "History has preserved nothing more bitter than this cry of Louis of Nassau before the fall of Harlem. . . . This terrible piece of frankness sweeps away at a blow all the diplomacy of the period. . . ." Again (p. 45): "The bold words of Louis of Nassau proved to be from a man on the eve of death to a dying man."

kinds of publications. An alliance with the Protestant princes alone could clear him. In 1572, the French king had been respected everywhere, and had almost been elected King of the Romans. Now everything was different. No one trusted him, and his kingdom was nearly ruined. If he continued to oppress his faithful subjects of the reformed faith, his fair words would produce no effect elsewhere.

"There is so much dissimulation in your Majesty's words and letters, that no one can trust him in the least. How did your Majesty act with the admiral—pretending to be alarmed about his wounds, and promising vengeance on his assailants two days before your Majesty took vengeance indeed, but in rather ill-fashion! . . .

"Finally, I wish your Majesty to recognise this fact, that although you have retaken all the cities held by the Protestants, you have not exterminated religion. The late Emperor Charles not only gained the cities, but obtained possession of the persons of all who opposed his designs, but affection for religion is too deep-seated to be eradicated."

He ends by saying that if Charles will only take what he has said in good part, and not let himself be flattered by bad physicians, but follow his advice, everything will go just to his desire.

This letter shows that Louis placed himself on a fairly well defined basis towards Charles. That monarch did not apparently resent this plain speaking, as he continued to furnish secret aid all through the summer. The following letter from Louis gives a picture

of his interview at Blamont with the French, and his many projects for gaining allies for his brother.[1]

"I do not doubt you have longed for news, but when you know the reason for my silence, you will be satisfied. It was, that hearing from France that the new governor[2] was to pass by on his way to the Netherlands, carrying a packet full of trumperies, under a pretence of peace, I was advised by the Elector Palatine and others to try and capture him on the way, and having given orders to this effect, I hastened to Heidelberg, where I heard that the said governor had passed by at full speed, and reached Thionville with only a hundred horse, as his suspicions were aroused about the safety of this region. Disappointed in this enterprise, the elector begged me to go to the French frontier to meet the queen-mother and the King of Poland, who had just arrived there on his way to his kingdom (we escorted him as far as Hanau, whence he departed to-day), to see if something good could not be concluded to aid both the said elector and the Netherlands. I could not refuse him, considering the footing he is on in everything that concerns you. . . . In short, the King of France proposed to espouse the cause of the said Netherlands, just as the Protestant princes espouse it, in whatever way this may be, openly or otherwise, and without counting the money he has already given us. The Doctor and Zuléger are here with me, and intend to go together to the landgrave, to urge him to promise a similar course to that to which the King of Poland consented, both in his own name and as deputy of his brother, the French king. We hope to find John Casimir back there, to tell us in what disposition he

[1] Louis to Orange.—Groen, *Archives*, iv., 278.

[2] Requesens.

left the Elector of Saxony, of whom we have better hope daily.

"You may be assured, Monsieur, that your affairs go better in Germany than they ever did before, and that my brothers and I will not lose a single minute in advancing them as well as we can. As to the Bishop of Cologne, he is in good train, thank God. My brother, Count John, is coming to meet him here, in accordance with the letters he has had from him. We have arranged that the King of France shall give him 16,000 livres pension, and that he shall have one year's income of 6000 crowns in advance, on consideration that he breaks free from the Spanish entirely, from this time on. The princes have resolved to support him as married bishop, though he married in opposition to his chapter. . . . Concerning the money you want, we shall take pains to send it to you as secretly as possible, to avoid all inconveniences, and, if it please God, we shall find means of doing so by a shorter and safer way than by Bremen or Emden. We may be disappointed in our hopes of reinforcement from France, but we hope to aid you even without the assistance of a single French soldier. We have agreed that all the cities taken by aid of the King of France and the German princes, shall be put under protection of the empire so as to win all the princes to your side, and prevent the enemy from raising forces in Germany. As soon as this journey be over, Monsieur, I shall hasten as quickly as possible to see you, with either a large or a small company. I had an interview with the Duke of Alençon, who, pressing my hand, whispered in my ear, that if he had the government there, as his brother that of Poland, he would second you to the utmost. I know how to use his fidelity, which would be no small service to us. If God grant that France and

Poland work together as they promise, I think our affairs will be marvellously furthered."

The events which were taking place in the Netherlands must be told before Louis's story be continued.

The prince's position was terribly hard and terribly lonely. He had thought it unwise for Louis to expose his person by coming to Holland, though the people did long for him like "the Angel Gabriel." At the same time he wrote [1] in August:

"Our affairs in Zealand and Holland would go pretty well if I only had some assistance, but it is wellnigh impossible for me to endure alone the entire burden of the important affairs which come upon me from hour to hour, financial, military, political. There is no one to help me, not a man, and I leave you to imagine my plight."

Aldegonde, the only person who in the least filled Louis's place, was in The Hague, in the hands of the enemy. Nor was loneliness the prince's only private burden. His own life was exposed hourly to many more dangers than the casualties of war. Granvelle had advised that both the prince and his brother should be disposed of "like Turks," and Philip was not loath, in spite of his negotiations in Germany, to adopt this agreeable advice.

Juan de Albornoz, private secretary to the Duke of Alva, wrote [2] on Feb. 12, 1573, to Philip's chief secretary:

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 191.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 1. Groen, Supplement, 129.

"He who brought Coligny's head, has offered to strike off the head of another, who has done as much harm to Christianity as the scamp now in hell. He and two others are there, God help them."

Gabriel de Cayas showed this letter to Philip, who wrote on the margin:

"I do not understand that, because I do not know where the admiral's head was taken, or whose this other head is, although it seems to be that of Orange. Certainly they have shown little pluck in not killing him, for that would be the best remedy."

It is said that Alva hired an Albanian captain to assassinate the prince, but the gentleman was forced to give up the project. He was entirely ignorant of Flemish, and could not make his way into the prince's presence. St. Goard, French ambassador at Madrid, wrote to Charles IX. that Alva and Don Frederic had various trusty people who intended to murder the prince. Orange, however, was well equipped for meeting such treachery. He had spies in every direction, even in Philip's own cabinet. A clerk of this same Cayas was in his employ, and never neglected to transcribe all Philip's letters that were important to the prince. Forewarned was forearmed, and many of those "trusty people" of Alva met a summary death, as they were making their way to the prince's person.

In September Alva summoned the estates of all the Netherland provinces—for he was still acting as though he were the sole head in the land, and the little court at Delft was entirely ignored—to meet at Brussels, and vote supplies for suppressing their

freedom of action. Orange seized this opportunity of making an appeal to the assembled estates, in his name and in that of Holland and Zealand. The document is only given in Bor.[1] It was simply an energetic call to rouse themselves to combined action. Did not Alva obtain all the means to oppress the people from their own pockets—why should they calmly go on furnishing the sinews of war to be directed against themselves? Their former princes lived on the soil and never had a stiver that was not granted them. Why should this foreigner usurp what no native prince had dared ask for? Holland was making what stand she could, though Amsterdam was not with her; if the Netherlands were but united, what could they not do?

This paper, in the name of the states, was followed by an epistle to the King of Spain, which was scattered broadcast over Europe.[2] A picture of the misery in the land was drawn with no sparing pencil —the pardon offered by Philip was characterised in scathing terms, and then the writer declared roundly that the arms taken against Alva would not be laid down while there was a hand to wield a sword. This was open warfare with a vengeance!

Alva's career in the Netherlands now came to a close. Medina Coeli had returned as he came,[3] but Alva really was ready to go, and the apppointment of Don Luis de Requesens y Cuñiga as Governor-General of the Netherlands, who arrived in Brussels

[1] Bor, i., 459 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 464.

[3] Hoofd, viii., 314.

November 17th, was welcome to him. His hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against him. Old Viglius, once so faithful to Spanish interests, distrusted him so cordially that co-operation was impossible. Alva wrote to Philip [1] that he really could not do anything with "this ancient set of dogmatisers. Till they are gone, together with Viglius, who teaches them their lesson, nothing will go right. One or two Spaniards, is only like pouring a flask of good wine into a hogshead of vinegar—it soon changes to vinegar."

During his stay in Amsterdam, the duke had contracted enormous debts. In November, he sent a trumpet through the city, to proclaim that everyone might bring their claims on a specified day. The night before the appointed day, he and his followers departed silently in the darkness, and his trusting creditors had to continue to trust.[2]

Not much was hoped from the advent of the new regent. Requesens [3] was a man of mediocre abilities, who, according to Motley, possessed a reputation for sagacity and moderation far beyond his deserts. He had not kept faith with the Moors in Granada, and had been very unpopular in Milan.

[1] *Cor. de Philippe II.*, ii., 359.

[2] Alva's later career was not distinguished. An adventure of Don Frederic threw both father and son into disgrace with Philip. Alva made one more campaign in Portugal, and then fell into a lingering fever, and was so reduced that life could only be supported by milk from a woman's breast. He died December 12, 1582. See also Motley, ii., 497.

[3] Louis's plan for capturing Requesens on his way has already been shown in his letter.

LVDOVICVS REQVESENTIVS MAGNVS COMMEND. REGNI CASTELLAE, REG: MAIES TI CONSILIARIVS, GVBERN: ET CAPITANEVS GENER: IN BELGIO.

DON LUIS DE REQUESENS.
(Based on an old print.)

Then, too, the people resented the fact, and felt it to be an insult, that the new ruler was only a simple gentleman, and not a scion of the royal house.

The military situation at the end of the year 1573 was as follows. When Don Frederic was forced to abandon Alkmaar by the advancing water, he rested for a time at Amsterdam, and then marched to Leyden, which he duly invested in October. The citizens had not prepared for this event, although it might seem as if wisdom could have been learned by this time.[1] Harlem and Amsterdam were the only towns of Holland still in the hands of the enemy, while in Zealand, Middelburg alone held for Philip, and that was closely besieged by the patriots. The news from Germany was so hopeful, that the prince thought the spring would see him relieved and enabled to treat with the new commander from a good vantage-ground. New opportunities were given him to come to an accommodation with Philip without the mediation of the emperor. Julian Romero did not leave the Netherlands, and, in November, he again began to make polite overtures towards the prince. "I have received three or four letters from Julian Romero," wrote Orange to his brothers, "full of courteous and polite offers, to which I responded in the same way."[2] The Spaniard suggested a friendly meeting, which Orange politely declined, and limited his intercourse to messages, with safe conduct for the messengers. There

[1] When Don Frederic departed for Spain with his father, de Valdez succeeded him as commander in the Leyden siege.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 236.

had been too much treachery [1] for him to jump at plausible propositions. Romero offered to exchange St. Aldegonde for Count Bossu, which proposal Orange entirely declined, anxious as he was for Marnix. But he could not overlook the inequality of the two officers.

The long imprisonment told sadly on the spirits of the poor young enthusiast. In November he wrote to urge the prince to abandon the struggle and make peace with Philip [2]:

"For my part, since I see that religion by which we trust wholly to God's word, is so hated and cried down that it is impossible for it to find any repose in this world without crosses and persecutions, . . . I think it would be far better to forsake all conveniences of fatherland, all this world's goods, and live in a strange country, possessing one's soul in patience, than to go on in a continued war, which can result in nothing but impiety and miseries, and provoke divine wrath."

He goes on to urge that if the prince withdraws now, it will show that he never wanted anything for himself, and finally he says:

"Also, I am persuaded that this would be a means of saving your Excellency from hardships, clearing your reputation from blame, and freeing the country from great misery. Consider, too, that Alva is retiring, and that there is hope that the king may exercise his natural

[1] In one case, prisoners had been exchanged, who died immediately after their return, from the effect of poison administered in their last meal at the enemy's cost.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 75.

clemency. If he does not, at least a rigorous government would be more endurable than the fardel of this war, if it last much longer. I would like to have three words with your Excellency, and you would understand how this proceeds from my heart. Your Excellency can have the opportunity if he wishes, of speaking to the master of this camp, who sets out for Spain on Monday, and who has expressed to me his desire for a meeting with you."

Orange had seen more years than Marnix, and was by no means so ready to trust people, nor so ready to give up under discouragement. He answered as follows.[1] After hoping the exchange would be effected shortly, he says:

"Now as to the other point by which you suggest that I accept a treaty, which I fear would bring ruin to the land, . . . I will not conceal from you that I have communicated your letter to the estates of these countries, and to other people of wealth and standing, to have their opinion on your proposition. In accordance with the oath and obligation I owe them, I can take no steps without their knowledge. . . .

"After the estates and citizens had deliberated ripely on the situation and weighed all the circumstances, they have unanimously declared that they know as well as I do, that mankind, and especially Christians, are commanded by God to keep peace. Besides their duty to Him, their natural inclination would lead them to desire quiet and repose. . . .

". . . But still we see there is no use, for the sake of a little respite, in making an accord which would be instantly broken. Indeed we have seen the worst ills

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 88.

of our time result from such accords. You can remember the one made so solemnly in '66, which resulted in nothing but the extirpation of the true religion, and the murder of thousands of the children of God. People who trusted to so-called pardons and treaties, were miserably deceived and their confidence was repaid by banishment or death.

"Then, too, the French massacre, notwithstanding the peace so solemnly sworn, cannot be effaced from our hearts, and we thus learn how safely we can trust—especially as that massacre came a good time after the war—in time of peace, and in the midst of marriage festivities. What dare we expect with the land full of soldiers, and especially Spaniards? For brevity, I will not mention examples in Germany and elsewhere which Noircarmes knows better than any one else in the world, and especially the case of the late landgrave, and the words *ewig* and *einig*—or that of Albert of Brandenburg; or the instance of the Council of Constance, where faith was not considered essential with heretics. Everyone knows whose hand was in the French massacre.[1] There are innumerable other instances of bad faith on the part of those who forced us to assume arms—[recapitulation of Spanish enormities]. . . .

"We say all this to partially answer your letter, and also that it may be clearly known that we see no means of concluding any peace agreement. . . . Monsieur de Noircarmes, and any other sensible man must see this. If, on the other hand, his Majesty will only really put down the present evils, he will earn a reputation for ever."

[1] Gachard says the prince means here that Alva instigated St. Bartholomew, but it is an accusation without foundation.

This letter was followed by others at intervals, showing the only basis on which a good peace could be made, and the slight hope of that. Noircarmes opened a correspondence with the prince, urging him to the same course, to which Orange answered in a very cool and dignified manner, and finally he showed him some confiscated letters which proved to him conclusively that there was nothing to hope from Spanish change of heart. From Germany the Landgrave William wrote to the same purpose[1]: "It is a losing game you are playing, give it up while you have anything to save." Louis, alone of Orange's friends was full of hope. At least 100,000 crowns had been given him at Blamont, and with that money he was confident of buying success. He wrote glowingly of the preparations for his expedition, in which Duke Casimir was to help him.

In December the prince went to Zealand, and made his headquarters for a time at Zierikzee to watch the siege of Middelburg, where the royalists and Spaniards within the beleaguered city subsisted as bravely on rats and cats as their rebel brothers of Harlem had done, and showed no signs of yielding.[2]

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 286.

[2] See letter of Klunder. *Ibid.*, 306.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BATTLE OF MOOK.

1574.

WHEN the new year opened, it became evident that Mondragon's garrison were weakening in their brave defence of Middelburg, and there was fair prospect that the besieging patriots might gain the city. The prince waited results, patiently, at Zierikzee. Every line that he wrote during the winter shows the loneliness that he was suffering. His brothers wrote continually to him, but communication between Dillenburg and Zealand was uncertain, and only a small portion of the affectionate, brotherly letters ever reached their destination. January 6th, the prince wrote[1] from Flushing to John, Louis, and Henry:

"MESSIEURS, MY BROTHERS.

"My letter from Zierikzee of the 22nd ultimo, the duplicate of which I enclose, will show you what trouble I

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 320, somewhat condensed.

have been in, at receiving no word from you since November 6th. Pray relieve my anxiety, and let me know how affairs go with you. . . . Tell me whether I can count on aid from you, tell me *everything* without concealment, that I may make my arrangements accordingly, so that the story of Harlem may not be repeated here. After their brave defence, the people were obliged to yield at last, and were treated so inhumanly, that the memory of the cruelties can never be obliterated. . . .

"I do not dwell on this because I doubt your zeal, but because various measures which you have suggested are so long delayed, . . . and effective assistance *now* would be telling, as the enemy's forces are discouraged, alienated, and scattered in various directions. Let me hear from you through several different channels."

Before this was dispatched, letters of November 21st arrived, and brought the news of the interview between Louis and Anjou, and the promise of French assistance. Orange continues his letter:

"As to your difficulty in reading my cipher, I hope by this time you have received the duplicates, and know my plans. . . . Middelburg is so reduced that we hope the city will soon fall into our hands. The enemy are making every effort to relieve it, but our men are on the alert."

On January 29th, a pitched naval battle took place,[1] in which Boisot, the prince's admiral, won a splendid victory, although he lost an eye. The

[1] Avila and Romero had not left with Alva, and the latter commanded in this battle, although he knew nothing of naval warfare.

ships were locked together, and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued. Twelve hundred royalists were slain,[1] and five Spanish ships were captured, and the enemy retreated to Bergen. Romero joined the grand commander, who was watching the defeat of his troops from the top of a dyke, in the midst of a drenching winter rain, and said[2] nonchalantly: "I told your Excellency I was a land fighter, and no sailor. I doubt if I could have done better had I had a hundred ships." With this philosophy, Requesens and Romero retired to Brussels, leaving Mondragon to hold out as best he could. Longer resistance was impossible. In the middle of February he submitted, and on February 18th, the Prince of Orange signed five articles, providing for an honourable surrender of the Spanish officer.

This was an epoch-making event. The northern cities had renounced the authority of Philip's lieutenants, and accepted that of their ancient stadtholder. In their opinion the prince was at the head of a legitimate revolt against illegal measures. The King of Spain and his lieutenants, on the other hand, had hitherto counted him as a rebel, as a leader of a turbulent mob who were to be crushed, but on no account to be recognised as a belligerent power. The troubles were a rebellion, *not* a revolution. When Mondragon consented to a parley, the prince was placed on a different footing, from which he never retreated.

The articles stipulated that Orange was to be

[1] Spanish authorities say seven thousand.—Hoofd, ix., 323.

[2] *Ibid.*, 322.

stadtholder for his Majesty,[1] and that the citizens should swear fidelity to him, and pay a subsidy of 300,000 florins. Mondragon promised to obtain the release of St. Aldegonde and four other prisoners of rank. If he failed in this, he pledged himself to return in two months, and deliver himself up as prisoner of war to the prince. On February 21st, Mondragon, and all who wished, left the city. A few days later Orange made his entry, reorganised the magistracy, received an oath of allegiance from the citizens, and, on his part, swore to observe the ancient privileges. In consideration of the hardships the place had suffered, he forgave the payment of two thirds of the required indemnity.

In Germany the prospect was bright and there was every chance that some of Louis's plans for effectually aiding his brother, would now be crowned with success. Charles IX. gave him a sum of ready money, and with that aid the levies progressed finely.[2] During this last winter of his bright youth, Louis was full of schemes of every kind.[3] The parleyings with France grew gradually warmer, though each step was taken with caution, and carefully guarded.

Count Louis undertook the task of visiting the Rhenish bishops to try and win them as allies.[4] He further endeavoured to persuade them to take wives,

[1] Hoofd, ix., 324.

[2] *Ibid.*, 328.

[3] Another scheme that Louis thought of was to send a few vessels to the Azores, to capture Spanish galleons on their way home from Peru. See letter of one L. von Embbe to Louis.—Groen, *Archives*, iv., 67.

[4] La Huguerye, i., 202 *et seq.*

and seize on their bishoprics as perpetual holdings. "He gained over the Bishop of Spire," says la Huguerye, "who had his wife already found. Of him of Mayence, they have good hopes, but of him of Treves they do not make much account except for the sake of spoil." The great trouble was with the two bishops of Cologne and Liege; Louis finally succeeded in winning the confidence of a favourite of the Bishop of Liege. Through this man, Louis suggested that the bishop might marry Charlotte of Bourbon[1] who was at Heidelberg. He should then restore the castle of Bouillon to her uncle, the Seignior of Bouillon, who, in compensation for receiving his paternal inheritance, should give a dowry to the bishop's wife. Another gentleman offered his daughter to the Bishop of Cologne, pledging himself to see that the bishopric should be kept in the family. Louis could not make the bishops follow all his advice, but he obtained permission to use Cologne as headquarters, which was a great convenience.

He was fortunate in securing, intact, a body of mercenaries who had escorted Anjou to the boundaries of his new realm, and were open for an engagement. Money, money, money, was the cry in every letter. Count John, meanwhile, tried to gain over the Archbishop of Cologne. This alliance was especially distrusted by the canny Landgrave of Hesse, who had inherited much of his father's shrewdness and vigour of expression.[2]

[1] This was Charlotte, the daughter of the Duke of Montpensier, whose story will be given later.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 336.

"I doubt him. That he, who was of a very contrary opinion a year ago, should suddenly turn round, without any such miracle as converted Paul, does not quite go down with us. So I do not like to see your Excellency in such friendly trust. Beware and remember the proverb—*Ex ungue leonem.*"

Towards the end of February, John, Louis, and Henry finally set out for the Netherlands with about 3000 cavalry, and 6000 foot, to join the prince. They hoped to take Maestricht *en route*, which Orange suggested, as the most advantageous way of opening the campaign. He wrote[1] in November, 1573: "I think, that leaving the enterprises of Friesland and Groningen until March, you would do well to turn your energies towards Maestricht, and this with all diligence, before I am entirely shut in, so that courage be not lost on every side."

Duke Christopher, son of the Elector Palatine, accompanied the Nassaus, and was, in fact, the most important person of the expedition. By the end of the month they reached the Meuse, and camped near Maestricht, on the German side of the river. Requesens had levied new mercenaries in Germany,[2] and brought the Spanish garrisons from as many towns as he dared, even withdrawing troops from before Leyden, which was in a state of siege. The command was entrusted to Avila, who took the field, instructed to keep Louis from making a junction with his brother.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 244.

[2] Hoofd, ix., 329.

The Nassau brothers started out prosperously, but unfortunately, more than a thousand men deserted before they came in sight of the Netherlands. Louis hoped to cross the Meuse at once, but the ice was too broken to give a foothold, and too thick to allow boats to pass. He was therefore obliged to keep on the right bank, and camped four miles above Maestricht.[1] Meanwhile, the prince had gathered about 6000 men in the Isle of Bommel, a large ait formed by the Waal and the Meuse, where he waited for his brothers' approach, hoping that they could reduce Maestricht as planned. But the condition of the ice baulked this project, and Louis was forced to lie idle with the river between him and the wished-for city. Had he effected his crossing at once, all would have gone well, as Avila was unprepared, but the delay enabled the Spanish forces to gather at Maestricht. On March 18th, Mendoza managed to cross the river in the night, and engage the patriots in a disastrous skirmish, in which Louis lost 700 men. All prospect of an attack on Maestricht was at an end. Louis's only hope was to join his brother. Three days later he broke camp, and marched down stream. Avila followed him on the other bank of the river, and, by April 8th, he was reinforced by Braccamonte, Mondragon, and others, bringing in all forty-one companies of foot, and three of cavalry.

On April 8th, Louis took his way farther down stream, and by the 13th, he reached the village of Mook, near the border of Cleves. No sooner had he pitched camp than his scouts brought him word

[1] Hoofd, ix., 329.

that Avila had marched his whole army over the river, on a hastily constructed bridge of boats, and lay directly in his path on the same side of the Meuse. The patriots were shut in a narrow space between the Meuse and the Waal. They managed to dig a trench before Mook,[1] but that was their only defence, and a slight one.

Avila chose the position in which he meant to force a battle. Louis's strength lay in his cavalry, and here he could not use horse to any advantage. Could he have avoided a battle, he would have done so, but it was impossible. At the break of day, on April 14th, the skirmishing began.[2] Louis stationed ten companies at the village. Next came the bulk of his infantry, disposed in a single square. On their right was his cavalry, arranged in four squadrons, as well as the narrow limits of the field would allow. A small portion of these were, for want of space, stationed on the rising ground.

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[1] T is een dorp van kleene waarde maar vermaart—door den ramp die der Nassausche partye daar oover quam." "A little village . . . noteworthy from the Nassaus' defeat." Hoofd, ix., 331; Motley, ii., 521.

The accounts of this battle do not agree in all particulars. In an old poem, the date of the skirmish in which "nine hundred and ten men" were slain, is given as April 8th. This was evidently written before Louis's death was known, from the lines:

> "Maar ik hop het sal ten besten verkeeren;
> Als Graf Lodewijch weder te velde komt
> Dan sullen sy wel laten haer triumpheeren."

[2] Motley, ii., 535, from Mendoza (xi., 239 *et seq*), who was an eye-witness.

Avila's forces were arranged in somewhat similar manner, facing the patriots. The river was on their right. At that spot the plain between the river and the hills was wider, so they had more space. Twenty-five companies of Spaniards were arranged in four bodies of pikemen and musketeers. They served as a breastwork to the cavalry who were stationed on their left, in the form of a half-moon, the horns garnished by two small bodies of sharpshooters. In the front rank of cavalry were the mounted carabineers of Schenk, behind the Spanish lancers. Mook thus lay between the two forces. Several hours passed in light skirmishing. At ten o'clock Louis grew impatient, and ordered his trumpeters to blow a challenge. Just then de Hierges and Baron Chevreaux arrived at the rear of the royal army, bringing more than 1000 men, with the word that Valdez was not far behind, with a reinforcement of 5000 men. This was hopeful news for the Spaniards, but made them desirous of putting off the crucial test of a pitched battle until the following morning. There was a lively discussion among the generals. Aremberg had not waited for reinforcements at Heiliger Lee, and had paid a heavy penalty for his rashness. On the other hand, Louis was ingenious and quick. He did not wish a battle, and if they held off, he might easily manage to slip by them in the night, and if he once joined his brother on the Isle of Bommel, the cause of the patriots would be greatly strengthened.

This argument prevailed, and the skirmishing over the trench grew fiercer. Finally the Spaniards tri-

umphed, and their opponents were utterly routed. Louis then made a cavalry charge upon the Spanish horse, which had remained quiescent till now. At the first shock they gave, and those who ran away carried the news to Grave that complete victory was with the patriots. Their comrades who held their ground made history instead of telling it, and, unfortunately for Orange, the tales did not tally. Before the patriots' cavalry had time to reload their pieces after the first discharge, the Spanish lancers and German troopers, who were still fresh, set on them, and a short, bloody action followed. Louis, Henry of Nassau, and Duke Christopher rallied a few troopers around them, and made one more charge. It was their last. No one ever knew what became of any one of the three. For a long time it was hoped they were either in captivity or hiding, and the Elector Palatine offered large sums in ransom.[1] John of Nassau had, luckily, left for Cologne about April 11th, and thus one brother remained to the poor prince.

[1] Hoofd, ix., 333. Fogaça to Requesens, *Rel. Politiques*, vi., 118. Renon de France (i., 497) gives the following account of Mook :

"What happened on April 14th, the third day of Easter, 1574, the Catholics have imputed not only to the valour of his Majesty's forces, but chiefly to a just, divine punishment exercised against these German leaders, because on the previous Good Friday, in great derision of divine things and of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, they fell to making good cheer, and to drinking from the chalices of a neighbouring monastery, putting the consecrated Host, prepared for Easter Communion, in these holy vases with the wine." This is somewhat curious, as Louis had hoped to find the Spanish Catholics so overcome with their Easter celebrations that they would fall an easy prey to the more sober Protestants.

Louis of Nassau was born in 1538, and was accordingly in his thirty-sixth year when he met his death at Mook Heath. He seemed much younger than that. The troubles which aged the prince prematurely sat more lightly on the shoulders of the younger brother. His was a nature in which youth seems predominant, for its sunshine remains even when sober judgment comes. But Louis's judgment never was sober. The scheme made in the last months of his life, to capture Requesens, showed the same nature as when he pasted papers on the walls of Antwerp, or when he pretended to be ill in La Rochelle, to obtain a visit and private audience from the queen.

His early education was in Dillenburg, later he went to Geneva, where he felt the direct influence of Calvin and Theodore de Bèze. He became an intensely partisan Calvinist, and was henceforth far more at home with the French Huguenots than with his Lutheran fellow-countrymen. In his twentieth year he was present at St. Quentin, and from that time was more or less closely attached to his brother. His Calvinism was more ardent than dreary, and never prevented his enjoyment of any madcap freak which Brederode or any other comrade proposed. Many of his impulsive acts menaced the success of important measures. Often the more prudent prince preferred not to know all Louis's projects. But his aim was always the furtherance of the Protestant cause, which was dear to him because it was his religion, and not from any principle of universal toleration. During a part of the time that he

COUNT LOUIS OF NASSAU.
(From an old print.)

spent in France he was governor of the principality of Orange, where he re-organised the university upon a Protestant basis.[1] After failing in his suit of the Rytberg heiress, he seems never to have made any other marriage plans, and died a bachelor. His story has been sketched in these pages in so far as he came into the prince's life, and his disappearance casts a cloud over the remainder of the tale. Wherever he was he was personally loved.[2] The French Huguenots wanted him for their own leader; the Hollanders longed for him like the "Angel Gabriel"; at home he was called the German Bayard. How he was missed on every side can easily be imagined!

Henry, who was lost at the same time, has left no records. He was only twenty-four, and as the youngest of a large family, he had been more protected and more under tutelage than his elders. Their one desire had been that "Henry should not waste his young life," and the family discussions on the subject breathed the ardent interest taken in the

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[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 399.

[2] Prof. Chantre of Geneva once described Theodore de Bèze as being the one decorative element in Calvin's life. Louis played the same part to his brother, and a light went out at the battle of Mook, whose absence was felt during the rest of the prince's life.

In the *Apology* (p. 93) Orange says: "As to what they say about my brother Louis, they would do better to leave so good a chevalier in peace. They cannot be compared to him, and he was a better Christian."

Duke Christopher perished with the Nassau brothers. His father, the Calvinist Elector Palatine, vainly offered a reward for his recovery. He said it was better for him to have died fighting for a good cause, than to have wasted his life in idleness.—Groen, *Archives*, iv., 367.

youngest son. Except the stiff Latin epistle of the school-boy, there are no letters of his that I have seen. The poor mother in Dillenburg had only sad tidings from the anxiously watched for messengers. Three sons lost, and two were still in constant danger.[1]

The Prince of Orange waited on the Isle of Bommel for tidings of his brothers.[2] On April 15th he went to Gorcum to be nearer the place where he expected them to cross the Meuse. Thence he wrote to Louis,[3] who was already numbered with the great majority:

"MONSIEUR MY BROTHER: Returning to-day from Delft, I received, in Dort, yours of the 12th, and learn where you are. I am sorry to have received your last too late to collect soldiers to send for your escort. However, I hope by to-morrow[4] we shall have thirty-five or thirty-six companies and a fair number of vessels. And to arrange better, I came to-day to this city. Let me

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[1] There were in the household at this time John's four boys, four boys of a cousin, the six-year-old Maurice, who had known no other home, and probably Marie, Anne, and the baby Emilie, Orange's other children. Michel de la Huguerye mentions the little boys, as he was asked to sit at their table during his stay at Dillenburg and talk French to them.—La Huguerye, i., 176.

[2] The exact history of the prince's action during these days is somewhat uncertain. As he had a mobile force, it seems extraordinary that he did not move towards Mook, and divert Avila from crossing the river, so that Louis would have had time to reach him.—La Huguerye, i., 236.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 368.

[4] "To-morrow, Horatio says to-morrow"—but Louis had passed into the land where to-days and to-morrows were one, forever.

know when you plan to cross the river, so that I can meet you.

"Written at Gorcum, April 15, 1574.

"As to your crossing, I do not know a better place than the environs of Tiel, near Wamel, Varick, and about there. It is narrow, however, for the cavalry, but you must make a virtue of necessity."

Two days later he wrote[1] from Bommel:

"My Brothers: Since I wrote, I have heard that your foot, and some horse, have deserted, and are already across the Rhine. If this be true, it is to be feared that the rest will soon follow, and that if you temporise some days, you will find yourself alone. My advice, subject to your correction, would be, if it be true that many of your people have abandoned you, *and I can find no means of coming to you*, your best expedient would be to pick out 3000 or 4000 foot and 1000 of your best horse, go down to Emden and cross there. Otherwise it is to be feared, that since I have to do with a people who get easily frightened, as easily rejoiced and frightened again, all courage might ooze away at this retreat.

"But if I can keep holding out the prospect of your coming, it is to be hoped that the people will continue in the good-will that they have shown up to this moment. In any event, it will be best to put an end to the affair of England, which Dathenus has mentioned to you, having received a letter two days ago to that effect. They are very keen on the league with Germany, offering, if that can be compassed, to declare open war on the King of

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 370.

Spain. You might exert a little pressure there, for, in truth, the German delays are slow death to us.

"BOMMEL, April 17th."

"MESSIEURS MY BROTHERS: You will recall what I wrote you on the 13th of this month, concerning the enemy's overtures to peace. As I am daily expecting news of their intention, I wish you could temporise a little, and delay on the frontiers, pretending always to be coming to join us. You could write to the estates of Holland and Zealand not to be disheartened, that you do not retreat to abandon them, but only for a short time, during which you wish to fortify yourself, that they may be effectually aided. I beg you let me know who of yours are left on the field [euphemism for dead] or wounded, and whether they are people of rank. Mention, too, the enemy's loss, and say whether you have any distinguished prisoners, as is rumoured. My regards to the Duke Christopher, my brothers, and others in your company.

"April 18th."[1]

"MY BROTHERS: Being in the greatest trouble in the world at having had no answer from you to the seven letters I have written since the 10th—the last being on the 18th—I have decided to send you this messenger. . . I do not know whether you have received mine of the 18th. If not, the bearer will tell you the contents. Only let me hear your condition.

"April 21st."[2]

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 371.

[2] John, it will be remembered, had left Mook two days before the battle, to see what money he could raise at Cologne to satisfy the mutinous soldiers.

This, a week after the battle of Mook, almost makes it appear as if there were some mistake in the dates, as the intervening distance was very short. On April 22d, Orange wrote to John, begging for speedy news.[1] He has now heard of the encounter, and is in the greatest alarm and uncertainty, as "nine days have already passed." He continued to make plans about his brothers, "if they be still in life." It seemed impossible for him to accept the fact that the silence was indeed never to be broken. The persistence with which he continued to arrange details for their movements, was a mental protest against acknowledging the truth.

The great advantage that the royalist troops had gained at Mook Heath was rendered ineffectual by the mutiny of the Spanish troops the day after the battle. Three years' pay was owing them, and they demanded it clamorously, feeling that a moment of victory, won by their exertions, was the time to urge their legitimate claims. They went further, however, than simply making claims.[2] The mutiny became organised and regulated anarchy at once. These mutinies were regular occurrences in the Spanish army, as natural results of unpaid wages.[3] The soldiers had their wives and constantly increasing swarms of children with them, so that they made a nomadic city wherever they went.

As Motley says: "It was a city walled in by bayonets, and still further isolated from the people

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 378.

[2] Hoofd, ix., 336 *et seq.*

[3] Motley, ii., 543.

around by the impassable moat of mutual hatred. It was a city obeying the articles of war, governed by despotic authority, and yet occasionally revealing, in full force, the irrepressible democratic element." Whenever this military populace revolted against authority, they immediately proceeded to elect their own officers and draw up a constitution. Their chief was called an *Eletto*, was chosen by popular suffrage, and narrowly watched to see that he came up to his duties. All this was done in the mutiny of April, 1574. The first demands for pay and booty were met only by promises, so they shook off authority, made their own organisation with no dissenting voice, crossed the Meuse, and marched to Antwerp, entered at the weakest gate, and took possession of the city. The disciplined troops threw off restraint, seized all the good things of this life, and plunged into riotous living of every kind.

Before the end of the month, however, the Broad Council of Antwerp acceded to the demands of Requesens for supplies. They voted as a loan the 400,000 florins needed for the pay, and received a mortgage on the royal domains. The citizens took the securities, but as a matter of fact they set no value on the paper, and really considered their money gone. The mutineers came to an agreement with Requesens, returned to Antwerp, and were paid up in corn or cloth. Then they proceeded to celebrate the occasion with a great feast in the Place de Meir. Here they were rioting furiously, arrayed like children in the cloth and velvet, etc., which had been given them for their wages, when word came

that Admiral Boisot had taken advantage of the mutiny to sail up the Scheldt. There was a sudden call to arms, which the motley crowd, arrayed just as they were, obeyed to a man. It was too late, however, to prevent Boisot from capturing or sinking fourteen Spanish ships, and taking Admiral Haemstede prisoner. This was a decided advantage for the patriots, who thus again found fortune kinder to them on water than on land.

Even with this advantage to cheer him, Orange was still much cast down and very anxious. There are many long letters from him to John, as though he could not bear to stop speaking with his pen to his only remaining brother. On April 22d, he wrote[1]: "I have sent you ten messengers, but can get no news or certitude." It is no wonder that he got discouraged, for many of the dispatches never reached their destination. In 1593, an intercepted letter of May 7, 1574, fell into the hands of William Louis of Nassau, one of John's sons, who sent it to Maurice.[2] This was written after the prince had at last relinquished all hope of ever again seeing his devoted younger brothers. The very wordiness of this epistle is pathetic. He is very anxious for John to understand his situation.

"And, Monsieur my brother, that you may have a clear idea of our ordinary expense simply in soldiery and ships, without including extraordinary things like artillery, ammunition, scouts, fortifications, governors'

[1] Groen, *Archives*, iv., 378.
[2] *Ibid.*, 385, Orange to John.

salaries, messengers, spies, commissioners that have to be sent here and there, expenses of the people in foreign courts, and such like things, I send herewith a summary of the men-at-arms and the boats we have. 1st. In South Holland, 71 companies—French, English, Scotch, Walloons, and Flemish. In Zealand, 14 companies. In Waterland, 20 companies. As to boats, we have in Holland, 6 sloops and 20 other ships, both *drommelers* and ships of transports. In Waterland, 8 big ships, 6 galleys, 5 catboats, 10 *boeyers*, and others called *water schepen*, which make in all, counting the galleys, 102 bottoms. This is all I can write you at present on the state of our affairs, and the necessity we are under of being aided, hoping shortly to send you some one to explain matters more fully."

As soon as possible after the settlement of the mutiny, the grand commander turned his attention to Leyden, from which troops had been withdrawn on Louis's approach. The people had failed to make use of this respite to store provisions for a siege.[1] So when Valdez invested the city, May 21st, they were little better off than they had been in March. A little foresight would have been of more advantage than all the pluck and courage displayed by the citizens. They had almost no troops, five companies of guards and one corps of freebooters being the only force they had to rely on. A body of five hundred Englishmen in the city's pay, stationed at Valkenburg, an outlying fortress,

[1] Bor says [i., 505]: "De prince war seer bekommert met deze belegeringe, wetende dat sy geen krygsvolck in en hadden, dat sy ook van koorn en alle oorlogs provisie onvoorsien waren."

fled to Leyden at the Spaniards' approach, but they were not admitted, as their good faith was doubted.

Before the resumption of the siege, secret negotiations for peace were again set on foot.[1] Before the dead of Mook Heath were buried, Hugo Bonté, a former pensionary of Middelburg, was sent to Bommel, by Requesens, to sound Orange on the subject of peace.[2] He made his usual answer. The first requisite was the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the second was liberty of conscience.

June 30th, Bonté went to Rotterdam on the same errand,[3] and had interviews with Orange on July 1st and 2d, in which he proposed that the states should send deputies to some place in the jurisdiction of Liege, to confer with several Catholic gentlemen upon some accommodation which the king's tender conscience could approve. The prince expressed some polite doubt as to the safety of Protestant envoys.[4] At the second meeting, however, he consented to a conference with the Belgian gentlemen, provided it could take place at Woerden, near Utrecht, or in the neighbourhood of Gertruidenberg.

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[1] The relations between the prince and France were somewhat changed by the death of Charles IX. on May 24th.

[2] The prince received him in his bedroom without witnesses.

[3] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 373 *et seq.*

[4] The return of exchanged prisoners, who had received poison just before leaving the Spanish camp, has already been mentioned (Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 101). Mondragon had given Orange his word of honour to return into captivity, if Requesens would not deliver Aldegonde and four prisoners of quality. Once within Spanish lines he seemed to have forgotten this pledge, though the prince sent many reminders. It was not until October that Aldegonde was set free.

He mentioned, however, that the preservation of the reformed faith must be a *sine qua non* of any agreement. On Bonté's demurring to this, he suggested that even the pope was tolerant of the Jews. "That is merely for an example to the Christians," replied Bonté.[1] Orange then remarked, incidentally, that some other strong hand could be found to protect the country, "who is a beautiful damsel with many suitors."[2] Several days later more emissaries came to the prince. His answer was clear and simple. He, too, desired the end of the troubles, and the sooner the better, if the entire destruction of the land were to be avoided. But the people must be contented on the point of religion. As to him, he was quite willing to promise to withdraw from the land as soon as the troubles were appeased, if such were the king's will.

On July 17th, there came another petition for peace.[3] Marnix was allowed to leave his prison at Utrecht and visit Rotterdam, to attempt to bring the prince to his way of thinking. Convinced that it was futile to oppose Spain longer, he actually wanted the states of Holland and Zealand to petition the grand commander for an accommodation. Orange repeated the old arguments, reiterated the only conditions that he would consider, and the disheartened patriot returned disconsolately to his prison.

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 387. Interview with Bonté.

[2] "Que los payses eran una donzella hermoza bien aderezada, que tenia muchos que la pedian." This phrase was widely quoted.

[3] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 397.

PHILIP MARNIX, LORD OF ST. ALDEGONDE.
(From Boland's copy of an engraving by John Weirix.)

While these tentative negotiations were in progress, the siege of Leyden was going on vigorously. On June 6th, Requesens published a pardon which Philip had sent some weeks before.[1] This offered free forgiveness to all, if the reformed faith were abandoned. It was reinforced by a papal bull, which likewise promised a loving blessing on all prodigal sons, if they would but return to Mother Church. But the people at large were not tempted. Valdez sent this proposition to Leyden, and certain royalist Netherlanders, who had taken refuge in the Spanish camp, added their entreaties that the pardon should not be refused. These royalists were dubbed "Glippers,"[2] and took much the same position as the Tory Americans in 1776. They wrote letter after letter, which they found no difficulty in forwarding to the beleaguered city, urging their friends to come and be loyal, and take pity on their poor old fathers, their daughters, and their wives. With that curious pleasure in a racy phrase, which the war rarely crushed out of the Netherlanders, the Leydeners sent back a single line: "*Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.*"[3] "The pipe sounds sweet, as the bird-catcher snares the bird."

Orange had headquarters at Delft, and at Rotterdam. Between these cities, at the junction of the Yssel and the Meuse, was a fortress called the Pol-

[1] It was the old story. Philip's requirements seemed so simple that he could not understand the people's hesitation. "Return to the Church and all will be well."

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 9.

[3] Hoofd, ix., 347.

derwaert. On June 29th, the Spaniards tried to take this, but were unsuccessful. To hold it was very important to Orange, as this was the point from which he hoped to succour Leyden.

Throughout its whole existence, Holland had been fighting with the sea. Now the prince conceived a scheme, by which that same sea, the symbol of all evil in the universe, could be made to turn against the other enemy, and aid the very folk who had spent their lives in wresting their soil from it, inch by inch. By opening a few dykes, the North Sea would flow over the flat lands intervening between Leyden and the coast, with sufficient depth to float Boisot's ships. The patriots had been singularly unlucky in all their encounters with the enemy on dry land. Their only successes had been on the waters, or in seaports. Leyden was not a seaport, but it might become one. The harvests must be sacrificed, to be sure, but this time there was little holding back even on the part of those who would suffer private loss.

An old Dutch proverb gave a ready answer to the reluctant property owners of the region, "*Beeter bedorven dan verlooren landt*," [1] "Better swamped than lost land," and the crops were sacrificed with scarce a word of remonstrance. Even that ever present "*courtresse d'argent*" (shortness of money), which sat, like black care, constantly on the prince's saddle, seemed about to be exorcised temporarily; 120,000 guilders were subscribed at once, as a fund for the work, the estates voted an allowance of 45,000

[1] Hoofd, ix., 353.

crowns a month, and even rich ladies—among whom was the wife of Goodevaart Brasser, burgomaster at Delft—brought their jewels and gold chains and even furniture.[1]

This was good, but Orange feared that they were still too weak to rescue the town, unless Count John could rouse up the German princes to send them aid. He was not the same man he had been before the battle of Mook, and any misfortune seemed credible since the loss of his two young brothers. Still his despondency did not lead him to rest with idle hands. Every sinew was stretched to the utmost. On August 3d, in the presence of the prince, who went with Paul Buys to Capelle on the Yssel, for the purpose, the outer dyke was pierced in sixteen places, the sluice gates at Schiedam and Rotterdam were opened, and the water began to overflow. It was a work of time, however, for the floods to cover so large a tract, and the interval of waiting was filled with collecting, as quickly as possible, all the craft in the neighbourhood. It was not only war ships that were in demand. Provisions must be sent to the poor, starved Leydeners, and everything that did not have a deep draught would be useful. Two hundred craft were collected at Delftshaven and Rotterdam, while all the chief cities sent contributions of provisions. The prince wrote to Leyden, telling them to hold out a little longer, that the dykes were pierced and the waters rising.[2]

[1] Dutch furniture probably did not have the same value in 1574, as in 1894.

[2] Pigeons carried the letter.

Whether it was anxiety for his brother, or standing out on the dykes in rain and fog, does not appear, but by August 21st, as the house steward, Nuynhem, writes to John,[1] the prince had succumbed to a fever that was first quotidian, and then so severe that he had four accesses within a day.

The beleaguered folk in Leyden were filled with joy at the prince's letter, dictated after he had given up to his illness, which he carefully forbore to mention, lest it should discourage them. The Spaniards were alarmed at the prospect, but the "Glippers" within the royal camp assured them, that such an event as they feared would be utterly impossible. There never was a time when the prince was more needed, but he could not recover, spite of three physicians, who were baffled when his malady did not yield to their copious bleeding. He was so weak that he could not rise, and could eat nothing[2] but "an egg, a little blancmange, and some confiture, which serves to keep the spirit, but can ill sustain the body," as John's correspondents say.

Florent Nuynhem and Th. Brunynck wrote continually to John,[3] reporting progress. They were very anxious to move the invalid to Delft, both for change of air, and because he could be made more comfortable there. His exceeding weakness continued, which is hardly to be wondered at, considering the bleeding he was subjected to, when his

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 38.

[2] *Ibid.*, 39.

[3] Nuynhem was the prince's steward, and Brunynck was his secretary.

vitality was already at a very low ebb. Hoofd tells the story that his attendants thought the illness was the pest, and fled from him, but in the face of the above-mentioned letters to John, this hardly could have been the case.[1] The severity of the attack was much heightened by his alarm about Leyden, and especially by a report that the city could not wait for the projected relief. A rumour, indeed, went abroad that his condition was hopeless, and the Spaniards believed that he was a broken-down man. The arch-conspirator, they said, is stricken down like a broken pillar, and his soul crumbles to dust under the breath of Spanish might. Hoofd goes on to say, that it was really true that Cornelius van Mierop, receiver of common revenues of Holland, came to Rotterdam to bring some tidings to the prince, and strange to say met none, in the house, who could give him information. He at last reached the sick-room, and found the prince lying in bed without the attendance of a single person. He asked about his condition and his servants. The prince answered in a weak voice that he was very ill, and that his people had left him.[2] Then he roused himself to inquire about affairs, and thanked God that Leyden still held out. From that time he looked up,[3] recovered his cleverness sufficiently to carry on the undertaking

[1] Hoofd, ix., 355.

[2] This story is probably apocryphal, as the letters of Brunynck show continual care.

[3] Hy stelde zich nochtans tot gehoorgeven; en verstaande dat Leyde noch hield, dankte Godt met verfooyden geest; look ook van dien tydt, op; en kreegh allenskens kloekheydt, om de toereedingh, voort te dryven.

earnestly and zealously. He arose from his discouragement as from a dizziness, and came to himself. By September 2d, Brunynck wrote to John [1] that there had been no fever the previous day, his night had been good, and that they hoped the prince was out of danger. On September 7th, the invalid was able to write to John himself, and the sight of his handwriting must have been welcome enough in Dillenburg. "The fever has kept off for two days, and he hopes soon to be strong again." [2] The solicitude about money is waiting for him at the door of his bedroom, and he is very anxious that the French negotiation should be pursued. "No man is better fitted for the purpose than Schomberg," and he adds that he wishes John would see what could be done with the German princes.

The efforts to succour Leyden by water, which had weakened during the prince's illness, though they had never been remitted, now went on vigorously. Boisot effected a landing in Flanders with five hundred Zealand soldiers, and two hundred German mercenaries. More than two hundred vessels were assembled, manned by about two thousand veterans, besides volunteers. The distance across the meadowland to Leyden was twenty miles, and by September 10th, the fleet had sailed, slowly, three-quarters of the way. There they were stopped by a great dyke called the Land-scheiding, held by the Spaniards. The capture of this was, of course, very important, and Orange had ordered that it should be effected

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 50.

[2] September 6th was the first day that he left his bed.

at all hazards, and on the night between the 10th and 11th, Boisot succeeded in driving off the rather weak garrison after a short but hot skirmish. The dyke was then pierced, but there was a continuous land breeze, and at first the waters would not rise. At the end of a week, the fleet had only advanced two miles. Then the wind shifted to the north-west, and blew a regular gale for three days. The waters rose rapidly, and gave the fleet sufficient draught to move on to North Aa, where there was another dyke. While this was being pierced, the wind turned east and the waters subsided. Imagine the intense anxiety with which the weathercocks were watched by the poor Leydeners during those September days. During this delay, Orange, though still weak from the effects of fever and the remedies, managed to board the fleet and encourage the Zealanders.[1]

The state of things within the city was going from bad to worse. Nearly every scrap had been eaten, and deliverance came so slowly that the weak-hearted murmured that nothing but corpses and skeletons would be left to receive the fleet if it ever did come across the dry land, which it could not do. Adrian van der Werf, the plucky burgomaster, was assailed by these murmurers and called on to surrender.[2] This he heroically refused to do, and his sturdiness imparted courage to the others. On September 28th, Boisot succeeded in sending a pigeon into the city with a note, saying that if the wind did but change

[1] Hoofd, ix., 358–362.

[2] *Ibid.*, 366 *et seq.*

he would soon be with them. The town bells were rung for joy, which turned to despair as the weather vanes continued to point resolutely to the east. Three days of watching followed. On October 1st came the equinoctial. The wind blew violently from the north-west, and the North Sea rushed in pell-mell across the space where it had met barriers for so many years. In twenty-four hours there were two feet of water at North Aa, and Boisot sailed up to the village of Zoeterwoude, where he was met by the first volley from the enemy. He responded at once, and a battle followed in the midnight darkness, probably the first naval engagement ever fought out on land. It was not pleasant for the beleaguering Spaniards to find themselves in turn beleaguered by a watery flood. They could not tell how high the sea would rise. There is nothing so terrifying as unknown dangers, and the men who had stood, undaunted, at the cannon's mouth, fled in terror before the cold swash of those gray waves. The Spaniards abandoned the two forts of Zoeterwoude and Lammen, and fled as best they might to The Hague, and when the morning of October 3d dawned, Boisot sailed up to Leyden. The anxiety of the last three days there had been intense. First they had not been sure of the enemy's movements; they had no information, and everything seemed mysterious. In the night of October 2d, when the excitement was at the highest pitch, a frightful crash was heard. A portion of the city wall between the Cow-Gate and the Tower of Burgundy had suddenly tumbled down.[1]

[1] Bor gives this, and the other historians quote from him. I find no explanation of the accident anywhere.

At that very same time the Spaniards were departing from the fort of Lammen, ignorant of the fact that the city was open to them. Valdez felt that the eyes of Europe were upon him, as he went off into the midnight and watery darkness. He was good enough to leave a note behind him, on the table of the room he had occupied at Leyderdorp: "*Vale civitas, valete castelli parvi, qui relicti estis propter aquam et non per vim inimicorum*," [1] an explanation that must have been highly satisfactory to the states and the fortifications.

Boisot found the state of Leyden pitiable indeed, and the first care was to feed the hungry, the next, to prevent them from over-eating. October 3d fell on a Sunday in that year of 1574, and Orange went quietly to service in the Great Church of Delft. A note, describing the above events, was handed to him as he sat in his pew, his thoughts probably more absorbed with Boisot's last communication than with the sermon. As soon as the last period was rounded, Orange handed the letter to the preacher to be read from the pulpit. It is easy to imagine the awakened interest with which that congregation, who had quietly absorbed the subject-matter treating of points in which they perfectly agreed with the expounder, listened to this addition to the discourse. The last prayer was said with glad hearts.[2] On the next day, October 4th, Orange wrote a thankful little note in German to John,[3] telling him of the event; then,

[1] "Farewell state, farewell little forts, who art abandoned on account of the waters not on account of the force of the enemy."—Hoofd, ix., 368 *et seq.* Bor, i., 554.

[2] Meteren ii., 276.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, v., 75.

spite of warnings that he was too weak to expose himself to such poisoned air as that of Leyden, he appeared in the freed city, and congratulated the citizens on their endurance.

Leyden received two prizes for her pluck. The first was permission, granted by Orange and the states, to hold an annual ten days' fair, free from tolls or taxes. The second gift was the establishment of the University of Leyden [1]—the first Protestant school on Netherland soil. They were wonderfully expeditious about this. Leyden was relieved on October 3d. On February 5, 1575, four months later, all the professors of the new seat of learning were installed with elaborate ceremonies and allegorical representations so dear to the hearts of the Netherlanders, whose love of a show was never knocked out of them by starvation and hardship.

The new university was endowed with an adequate revenue, chiefly derived from the ancient abbey of Egmont. As Motley says, the introduction to the charter of this new institution is one of the most delicious pieces of irony on record.[2] The fiction of the king's sovereignty was still maintained, and the most Catholic monarch was made to establish this Protestant university as a reward to Leyden for rebellion against himself:

"Considering that during these present wearisome wars within our provinces of Holland and Zealand, all good instruction of youth in the sciences and liberal arts

[1] Meteren, ii., 278; Bor., i., 593.

[2] Motley, ii., 579.

is likely to come into entire oblivion. . . . Considering the differences of religion ; considering that we are inclined to gratify our city of Leyden, with its citizens, on account of the heavy burdens sustained by them during this war with such faithfulness, we have resolved, after ripely deliberating with *our dear cousin* William, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder, to erect a free public school and university," etc.

The alleged royal giver then proceeded, according to this original document, to intrust the aforesaid "dear cousin of Orange" with all needful powers for regulating the government and police of the institution.

CHAPTER XXII.

NEW BONDS.

1574–1575.

WHEN the tense anxiety about Leyden was relieved, the prince found leisure to direct public attention to another problem, which had grown so harassing to him that the burden was well-nigh unbearable.

Even in Holland his own powers were ill-defined and often little respected. Stadtholder of the king,[1] magistrate in virtue of the royal commission of 1559, uniting in his person the functions of governor-general and governor in especial of the revolting provinces, William of Nassau, in order to interest the states and bind them to the common cause, had shown himself ready to ask their advice and to defer to their opinions. Indeed, this was his only practicable course, yet it proved a source of infinite embarrassment to him. It was difficult to obtain money grants, except in moments of rare enthusiasm. As a usual thing the parsimony of the states was distressing. Even patriot leaders must be

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 90.

paid, but the governing body were ready to forget their captains' services when the question of dollars and cents was presented.[1]

Then, the states were disposed to enlarge their own powers little by little. Sometimes they infringed on what was manifestly their stadtholder's province, sometimes they disregarded the ancient privileges of the land, and again they meddled with the details of military affairs, because they had furnished the supplies.[2] Then, too, as Groen says, these gentlemen were easily discouraged, and continually wished to check an onward movement. Acts of quick decision cannot emanate from a deliberative body, and, in time of war, such acts are a necessity. The prince played the part of moderator between the states, the nobles, and the burghers. He was distressed at the ferments, and exhausted himself in his efforts to avert disastrous results. It was manifestly impossible to steer the ship of state with tied hands.[3] At last, weary of the tergiversation, delay, and confusion, both of government and finance, the prince appeared before an assembly of the states of Holland on October 20th, and made a plain statement. He pointed out his difficulties in clear, trenchant phrases. He complained that the people often forgot that they were fighting for a common cause,

[1] The excuse sometimes was that the lawlessness of men like la Mark and Sonoy cancelled the services they rendered to the state.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 91.

[3] There were disturbances between the towns in North Holland and Sonoy, their governor. But when Orange proposed to substitute de Berghes, the people at once petitioned to keep Sonoy; and so it went on everywhere—criticism without practical suggestions.

and seemed to think that he was acting for his own interests. He proposed, therefore, that the states should henceforth take the entire responsibility of government from his shoulders,[1] or that they should so strengthen his position that his measures might be effective.

The states deliberated over his address until November 12th. Then they begged him to continue in his charges. They could do nothing without a head, and he was the only leader they desired. They confirmed the powers that had been thrust on the prince by the force of circumstances, and conferred upon him an absolute sovereignty over the land for the time being. They requested

"that his Excellency should assume, under the name of governor or regent, the superintendence, supremacy, and rule, with the co-operation of the states, vassals, inhabitants, and heirs of the countships of Holland, conferring to this end on his Excellency, absolute might, authority, and sovereign rule in the direction of all the common affairs of the land with no exception."[2]

This was very well as far as it went, but before concluding any arrangement the prince stipulated that his allowance should be 45,000 florins a month. A week passed without an answer to this demand. On November 22d, the prince sent Paul Buys to insist on a response. The assembly discussed the matter three days longer, and then decided that

[1] "Dat de Staten selve het gantsche Gouvernement haer sullen aennemen."—Groen, *Archives*, v., 92, from *Resol. v. Holl.*, 1574.

[2] *Ibid*

30,000 florins a month was quite sufficient. The prince, however, decidedly refused to give the slightest consideration to these terms. He declared that rather than attempt the impossible, he would quit the country while he had "some honour left, and let who will follow him." Then they would be free to manage their affairs as cheaply as they wished. The states took alarm at his displeasure, and granted the 45,000 florins on the same day, without further bickering.

The position of the prince was now apparently established. He had a fixed budget, and dictatorial powers over land, sea, and all that was upon them. The states had stipulated that they should be convened and consulted on all points of taxation and changes in the governing body. They further reserved the power of appointing judges of the supreme court, and a few other important officers.

On Christmas Day the prince wrote to John that Leoninus, whose attempts at negotiation had dropped in July, had been to see him, but he was in Zealand.[1]

"I came here on account of the proposed enterprise in Antwerp, which failed because of the citizens' cowardice. They were afraid to take arms, though our boats and soldiers were on hand, as had been arranged in accordance with the burghers' own request, who had promised to do their part. Keep this secret in case we should make another attempt."[2]

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 109.

[2] Count John was endeavouring to organise an expedition against Burgundy, as was shown by a lively correspondence with Beutterich and Brunynck.—*Ibid.*, 99 *et seq.*

At the beginning of the year 1575, there were again many propositions of peace in the air. Maximilian wished it for the sake of the European states. Philip wished it because war was costly, and he thought it was time that the Netherlanders should return to obedience; still, on his part he was not willing to withdraw one hair's breadth from his original position.[1] Orange wished the cessation of war, but not at the cost of renouncing all for which the patriots had been fighting during seven long years. Owing mainly to Maximilian's exertions, a peace conference was arranged to meet at Breda, in which the German emperor hoped to smooth over the unpleasantness between his son-in-law and his rebellious subjects. The delegates assembled on March 5th. Among Philip's representatives were Ferdinand Lannoy, Arnold Sasbout, and Dr. Leoninus. In addition to these gentlemen, hostages were also sent to Dordrecht to pledge with their persons, the safety of the deputies from the states, while they remained within Spanish lines. Mondragon, Julian Romero, and other prominent Spaniards were among these hostages. St. Aldegonde and Boisot were the most important of the patriot councillors, and Maximilian sent as his representatives Orange's two brothers-in-law, Counts Schwarzburg and Hohenlohe, with several other gentlemen.[2] On February 21st,

[1] On January 4th, Orange wrote to John that Aldegonde had gone to Heidelberg and would stop to see him at Dillenburg. Aldegonde had two missions—one to find professors for the new University of Leyden, and the other to be explained later. Groen, *Archives*, v., 113.

[2] Hoofd, x., 381.

Orange wrote[1] to his brother, telling him not to be uneasy about any rumours concerning the peace conference, as he would keep him informed. He adds: "If you desire to be especially mentioned in the treaty let me know. I am glad you have ordered the accountant, Stenzel, to draw up a statement of the expenses we have incurred. Send it to me when finished."

The commissioners spent three months at Breda in futile discussion.[2] The Spaniards were apparently ready for concessions. The Spanish troops should be withdrawn, privileges should be respected, etc., etc. But the only concession offered to the Protestants was permission to leave the land if they were unwilling to return to the arms of Mother Church. The result might have been foreseen from the beginning. The Spaniards were fair in words alone. For the fulfilment of promises, the royal commissioners offered Philip's word and seal, countersigned by the emperor, while, in exchange, they demanded the signatures and oath of the prince and states, with the delivery of hostages and the cities of Brill, Enkhuizen, Flushing, and Arnemuyden. In

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 137.

[2] Before the beginning of the conference the assembly of Holland had met at Dordrecht. The prince addressed them in a long speech, urging that they should beware of buying their peace at too high terms. The votes of the assembly were not taken by person. The large cities and nobles of Holland had one vote, the states of Zealand one, small cities of Holland one, cities of Bommel and Buren one, and the prince one in his own right. Practically he thus commanded the majority, as the small cities had only obtained recognition through his instrumentality, and Buren was his son's earldom.—Wagenaar, xxv., 18.

vain did Count Schwarzburg travel back and forth between Breda and Dordrecht.[1] The conditions proposed were not ones to which the prince and states could subscribe. Besides, it was a contract in which some members of the contracting party were asked to deliver themselves. July 13th, the provincial deputies took their leave and the truce was over.[2]

The negotiations were, however, not without results, though the ostensible aim was not attained.[3] The steps taken by Holland in 1574, were good in their intent but much was still unsatisfactory. A bond was needed between the two provinces striving for the same end.

Before the final collapse of the peace negotiations, the questions of union and of increased powers to the prince began to be discussed in the assembly of Holland.[4] They acknowledged that Orange was not exigent in his demands. As usual, the deliberations

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[1] The states gave him and his wife a gift set in jewels worth from 3000 to 3500 guilders.—Wagenaar, xxv., 43 *et seq*.; Hoofd, x., 386.

[2] See Wagenaar, xxv., 49; Groen, *Archives*, v., 259 *et seq*. March 26th, Count John wrote to the landgrave: "Ich vermercke so vill, das die Seelender und Hollender von dem *exercitio religionis* nicht abstehen werden, und . . . die Spanier kein andere religion dan die Römische oder Papistische wollen zulassen; . . . So ist uf einen bestendigen Christlichen friden noch zur zeitt nit grosz hoffnung zu haben, und ist zu besorgen die Spanier werden noch mehr teglichs erfahren, und mit schaden witzig werden müssen." —*Ibid.*, v., 158.

[3] *Ibid.*, v., 262; Hoofd, x., 398.

[4] "Hebbende syne Exc. van hem zelps noyt meer authoriteyts gesocht te hebben, ofte te nemen, als tot versekertheydt ende prosperiteyt des Landes noodigh en was."—*Rés. Holl.*, 21 Mai, 1575; see Groen, *Archives*, v., 269.

were slow. Much fear was expressed of the dangers of centralisation of power. Six commissioners were appointed to draw up an ordinance for the combined government of Holland and Zealand.[1] The result was accepted in the main, though in 1575, Zealand would not subscribe to the articles regarding the prince's personal power.[2] The prince wished to have the new articles submitted to the approval of the communes,[3] but the estates only consented to consult the heads of the guilds, so that the captains and deans alone united with the aristocracy in ratifying the document by which his authority was established over the united provinces.

While these changes were taking place in affairs of state, the prince had entered on private negotiations that form one of the most singular episodes of his history.

The story of Anne of Saxony has been given in a previous chapter. During the latter part of the time that she was under the protection of the Nassau family, there was no mention of her in the prince's letters. In 1575, circumstances made it seem advisable for her relatives to assume the charge of her; the correspondence was revived, and towards the end of

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[1] See Wagenaar, xxv., 15. As these articles were superseded by the union of Delft in 1576, they are not given in detail.

[2] De potestate Guilielmi I. Hollandiæ Gubernatoris, by Mr. Gordon, 1835.—See Groen, *Archives*, v., 269.

[3] "Syne Exc. soude voor goedt aensien . . . dat alsulcke ordeninge . . . werde geapprobeert, miet alleenlyck by de Magistraten en Schutteryen van de Steden, maer oock by de Gemeenten, om des te meer en beter gehoorsaem te hebben."—*Rés. Holl., Ibid.*, 271.

the year she was removed to Dresden, as has been related. This removal was urged forward by the fact that Orange had determined to form new marriage ties. Just before his return to the Netherlands the prince visited Heidelberg,[1] and there met Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of Duke Louis of Montpensier. Her mother, Jacqueline de Longueville, was a Huguenot, and secretly educated her daughter in the Protestant faith. When still a mere child, Charlotte was placed in the Abbey of Jouarre, and took her religious vows before the prescribed age.[2] According to Aubéry du Maurier she took this important step under constraint and against her will. It seems rather strange that she should have been elevated to the dignity of abbess under such circumstances. But she attained that rank before 1572, when she renounced her vows, fled from the convent, and took refuge at Heidelberg with her relative, the Elector Palatine, who received her kindly, and played the part of a parent to her.

The king of France wished to have the fugitive returned to France and to the monastery. He sent one M. d'Aumont to Heidelberg to fetch her back, but the refugee refused to obey the summons. The Duke of Montpensier said that as long as she would not renounce Calvinistic heresy he preferred to have her stay at Heidelberg. Charlotte accordingly remained under the protection of the Electress Amelie. She seemed to have been a favourite with

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 113.

[2] *Ante ætatem sacria legibus definitam professa.*—De Thou, *Hist.*, iii., 72.

the elector, who, according to Michel de la Huguerye, said that he would not have invited the Duke of Anjou to stop at Heidelberg, had he known he was going to treat Mlle. de Bourbon with the scant politeness he showed her. When Louis of Nassau was trying to push through his schemes of marrying off the bishops, so as to secure allies for the Protestant cause, Charlotte was suggested as one of the eligible *parties*, provided her brother-in-law, the Duke of Bouillon, would give her a dowry.

Orange could not have seen very much of Mlle. de Bourbon in 1572, as he was in Heidelberg only a short time, but she made a profound impression on him. The three years that followed were bitterly lonely ones for the prince, who depended greatly on his affections. He was separated from all his brothers, and when he was hoping confidently that his solitude was to be relieved, Louis and Henry disappeared from his life forever. He never really recovered from the loss of Louis, who had been both dear and necessary to him since his youth. All the friends and comrades of the prince's early life were gone. St. Aldegonde was almost the only person on confidential and intimate terms with him. For five years the prince had lived alone, without seeing his children, immersed in the affairs of the provinces.

Anne of Saxony was as dead to her husband as though she already lay in the tomb of her ancestors, but her existence remained an obstacle in the way of his remarriage. In the Catholic Church complete divorces were not granted with power to marry again, except by special dispensation. The Prot-

estants took a different view of the question, and, under certain circumstances, divorce was recognised as legal. Now, Anne's case had been judged by Count John in his capacity of magistrate, but no formal sentence of legal separation was ever pronounced. In spite of this, the Prince of Orange finally resolved to marry again, and to establish a new home in the Netherlands, where he could have his children about him. He chose Charlotte of Bourbon as his bride, and in the spring of 1575, sent St. Aldegonde to Heidelberg to woo her in his behalf, and to escort her to the Netherlands. In this action Orange threw to the winds the prudence of his youth, and the well balanced judgment that had hitherto characterised all his actions. The marriage was, from a worldly point of view, as undesirable as possible, and there was every prudential reason to be urged against the match. The fact that Charlotte was a fugitive nun was regarded with universal disfavour. She was French, a fact that might alienate the Germans, whose friendship Orange needed so badly, while the circumstances were not such as to promise French sympathy. Charlotte's father would naturally disapprove, as she had taken vows of celibacy which he considered valid. She, therefore, preferred to consider the Elector Palatine *in loco parentis*, and to dispense with the Duke of Montpensier's consent. The Elector Palatine said that this was too good a *parti* to refuse. On the other side, there were the Houses of Hesse and Saxony to be considered, and they could not fail to be furious at this disrespect shown

to a child of their blood, although Anne was acknowledged to be a justly repudiated wife.[1]

Just when the first negotiations were opened is not quite certain. In March, Orange sent an emissary, one Zuléger, to Heidelberg, who wrote[2] to him as follows:

"MONSEIGNEUR AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE: The seignior has returned from France bringing the answer from the king and queen-mother, as your Excellency will see by the extract of the letters which I lately sent your Excellency. The king does not wish to mix himself up in this affair, as being against his religion. Nevertheless he thinks that Mlle. is fortunate at meeting so good a *parti*, and the queen-mother is of the same opinion. In short *they will not take in ill part what Mlle. does by the advice of the Count Palatine*, and what seems to her advantage, provided it is not against the service of the king. Nevertheless they think that the matter should be announced to the Duke of Montpensier. It has, however, been decided in the presence of the Count Palatine, Chancellor Ehem, and me, that there was no use in waiting for the consent of the Duke of Montpensier, because the same answer is to be expected from him as from the king, being of the same religion, and she, having attained her majority, is content to obey the Count Palatine in all that he advises. In this affair she considers him her father. As the Count Palatine approves, and declares that he would not advise her against so desirable a match with one of her religion, Mademoiselle has roundly declared that she will obey him, and is willing to give

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 201.

[2] *Ibid.*, 165.

her consent, and this is what the Count Palatine has commanded me to write to your Excellency.

"As to the other point, namely, the explanation to be made to the other party's relations, that will be left by the Palatine to your Excellency, though he will do all that is suitable to appease the said relatives, and to guard the honour of your Excellency and of Mademoiselle.

"As to the dowry, the Count Palatine and Mademoiselle have heard what your Excellency has resolved about the house at Middelburg, but as Mademoiselle asks nothing more than to share with your Excellency, what God may please to send to your joint lot, so she and the Count Palatine do not doubt that your Excellency will have consideration for her sex, and will make some disposition of the property which your Excellency has in France, either in Burgundy or Orange, if these estates are not pledged to your children.

"If she may have something on which she can live suitably she will be content, but she would be unwilling to inconvenience either you or your brother, and lays absolutely no stress on the point, but leaves everything to your discretion. Nothing remains but your Excellency's declaration, and for your Excellency to arrange what you wish Mademoiselle to do. For it seems superfluous to send again to the king, as the enclosed answer is sufficient. The Count Palatine waits from one day to another the answer of the king's brother, and of the King of Navarre, to whom the count has written to ask their consent to this marriage, and to soften the heart of the Duke of Montpensier, her father.

"FRANKFORT, March 31st."

When matters had been arranged with the Elector Palatine and Charlotte, there yet remained difficul-

COUNT JOHN OF NASSAU.
(Reproduced from an old engraving.)

ties in regard to the "other party." As no actual writ of divorce had ever been taken out, the only plea offered was that judgment had been legally pronounced on the case, and that a husband had right, according to Scripture, to put away an unfaithful wife. The documents relative to Anne were in John's possession, and in May, Aldegonde wrote[1] to John asking him for

"all the information, documents, and procedures made by you [Count John] on inquiry into and verification of the said misdemeanour. I wish certified copies of the same, both to assure the elector, and to give him foundation for answering those who ask an explanation. Please send the copies by the bearer of this, so that I can content the demoiselle and those who have the right to ask, and may know on what footing to proceed when we arrive in Holland. . . . I especially beseech you to help me out in this, and not to abandon me in so just and reasonable a cause. I am asked to prove to Mademoiselle the justice of the divorce by a sentence pronounced, on the strength of the said proofs, by your Honour or by some ordinary judges of Dillenburg. I know the difficulties in the way, but would be grateful if your Honour would be willing to send me some document, even if it were only the sentence, authenticated and ratified in some legal manner."[2]

Orange was evidently loath to discuss his projected marriage with his brother. On May 10th, he wrote[3] to him without mentioning the matter. "Affairs of

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 192.

[2] In the remainder of the letter Aldegonde speaks of the prince's desire to have his eldest daughter and his son with him.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, v., 198.

the war are *in statu quo*, and those of peace do not advance, though the king's commissioners are still at Breda." In April, the prince sent his brother-in-law, Hohenlohe, from Dordrecht to Germany, with messages to Count John, to the Count Palatine, and to Mlle. de Bourbon. The memorandum of instructions was as follows:[1]

"Hohenlohe will show my brother the correspondence with Zuléger, and declare my intention of proceeding in the matter, provided only that Mlle. de Bourbon gives her consent.

"After discussing with my brother which is the best route for her to take,—by Emden, or straight down the river, which I prefer, as she would avoid expense, delay, and other inconveniences,—advise with my brother, what means are available for coming down the river safely. This done, my brother [Count Hohenlohe] will take his way towards Heidelberg, where, having given my letters to the elector and his wife, and presented my humble salutations, he will proceed to declare his charge.

"M. Zuléger advised me, by his of March 31st, of the declaration of the consent given by Mademoiselle, in presence of his Excellency, and I now beg him to arrange what concerns the accomplishment of this promise. M. de St. Aldegonde will have explained my situation, and now my brother will give more ample declaration, so that his Excellency will be fully informed and know what advice to give, and that he may understand that my intention is to *march roundly*, without attempting to deceive her, or to give ground for reproach. He will explain what is the condition of affairs with my former wife, and will add the opinion expressed by her relations,

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 189.

so that he can see that there will be no hindrance, or even delay from that quarter.

"Secondly, he will point out that nearly all my property must fall to my first children, so that I am not able to assign to Mademoiselle any dower, but I mean to do the best I can in that respect, according to the means it may please God to give me in the future. For as to the house I have bought at Middelburg, and the one I am building at St. Gertruidenberg,[1] although they are nothing to boast of, if she will but accept them as a beginning, and as a testimony of my good will, there will be no difficulty. She must bear in mind, moreover, that we are in a state of war, whose issue is uncertain, and that I am deep in debt for this cause, to princes and other gentlemen, captains, and men-at-arms. She must remember, too, that I am beginning to grow old, being forty-two years of age.[2] Having stated these items, my brother will pray his Excellency and Madame, on my part, considering their friendship, etc., for me and her, to decide whether they approve. If, after all is well weighed, Mlle. agrees to proceed in the matter, he [Hohenlohe] will give a promise on my part, and receive one from her, and by consultation decide on the journey to complete what is begun to the glory of the Lord.

"WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

"AT DORDRECHT, April 24th, 1575."

When John received Aldegonde's letter, showing him how far matters had gone, he was in utter despair, a despair shared by all the inmates of Dillenburg. He probably thought that remonstrance with

[1] Lettenhove says this house was built from the pillage of a monastery.

[2] Charlotte was in her twenty-sixth year.

his brother would be in vain, and wrote[1] at once to Aldegonde:

"DEAR ALDEGONDE [no ceremony this time]: If you have any love for the prince and for the welfare of the elector, and if you do not want to run into danger yourself, *do let this thing be delayed for a time;* at least, until we can be sure of the foundation of the other friendship, so that we can see our way clear to act conscientiously and honourably, and until we know how matters are to be settled with the princess; especially, and most important of all, just until the coming meeting of the electoral college and Reichstag—appointed for about July 29th, at Frankfort—shall be over."

John had been ill and was still so weak that writing was a weariness to him. The one thing that he wanted to impress on Aldegonde was, *in summa*, that there was no such mighty haste about the marriage, and that a little delay would do no harm.

He goes on to speak of the bride's journey. "If you have already set out, which I hope is not so, let her wait awhile at Emden, or Bremen, as though she were going to England." Then again he urges delay, only delay.

"It is a shame to put all friendship in jeopardy. There is an old and true proverb, *præcipitis consilii pœnitentia comes.* The matter is surely worthy of consideration. But of what use is endless writing? Any one can get advice for what he wants to do. If there is no hope, I and other good hearts must look on sadly and let it go as

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 201.

it will, because it can not be otherwise, but I can not help telling you, that if this matter be pushed on so roughly you will not be safe in Germany.

"JOHN, COUNT OF NASSAU, ETC.

"DILLENBURG, May 20th.

"I enclose Hesse's opinion."

This enclosure is lost, but Hesse's opinion is well known. A month before, William of Hesse had written[1] to Dr. Schwarz, that he could not believe the prince was in earnest. There was no divorce which would permit remarriage.[2]

The day after Count John sent the above remonstrance, Orange wrote[3] to him formally announcing the marriage, and recapitulating what steps had been taken. He had told Aldegonde if all went well, to set off with the bride, and then, later, sent Hohenlohe on the same errand. He begs John to give the Elector Palatine all the proof he wanted in regard to Anne. If the papers were not forthcoming, it would be necessary to publish the matter, to the great scandal of the House of Saxony.

"I should find it only good, if you made the culprit [Rubens] again confess his misdeed before some gentlemen and people of quality, so that you and I should be more at our ease, and be sure of him for our greater security, if anyone should hereafter malign us, and accuse us of illegal imprisonment. For other news, the peace conference is not yet at an end."

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 204.

[2] He urged that if the prince completed this marriage, Anne's position would be altered and the judges could grant *ad mutuam parium delictorum compensationem.*

[3] Groen, *Archives*. v., 205.

It is a singularly quiet, unmoved letter, as though the contemplated step was the most natural one possible.

John, however, could not take the matter lightly. He wrote to the landgrave that it was not his fault, and William of Hesse replied[1] that he could well believe that the marriage did not take place with his approval, or with that of any person in his right senses. He continues in Latin, that the prince must be distracted by his troubles, even to dream of such a mad, insensate action. When John receives his brother's letter of May 21st, he writes[2] on June 3d, a long, careful, affectionate, brotherly, though very respectful letter, begging him not to complete this marriage. He ventures to use the word "*geliebte*" in the midst of his letter, having begun "Honoured Prince," and says modestly: "Although it does not become me to prescribe measures to your Highness, I must confess that the unseemly haste in this important matter shocks me, and certainly cannot further your public affairs." It was not a time when Orange ought to follow his private inclinations. The "other party's" relatives will be furious; her dowry will be demanded, which will be very inconvenient to pay back, as it amounts to 12,500 thalers a year. A *notorious fact* does not always admit of documentary evidence, etc.

Then the matter was discussed by Calvinistic ministers[3] in France and the Netherlands. MM.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 207.

[2] *Ibid.*, 208.

[3] *Ibid.*, 216, 220.

Feugheran and Capet of France gave their opinion in writing, that the new marriage was legitimate—their chief argument being that Anne's conduct released her husband from all obligations towards her. Finally, on June 11th, a formal act, by which the marriage of the Prince of Orange was declared legal, was drawn up at Brill by five of the most eminent ministers in the Netherlands.[1] They were Gaspar van der Heiden, John Taffin, Jacob Michael, Thomas Tylius, and Jan Miggrode. After reviewing all the circumstances, the document concludes with these words: "whereby it follows, that monseigneur the prince is free according to human and divine law to marry, and that she whom he espouses, will be, before God and man, his lawful wife."

This, Orange considered as sufficient to assure the legality of his marriage. The decision was, however, a foregone conclusion before it was pronounced. Charlotte had already reached Brill[2] under the escort of St. Aldegonde, who "had not let the grass grow under his feet," and did not, like John, think the matter might as well be postponed. Orange wanted to be married. St. Aldegonde was asked to fetch the bride, and he fetched her as fast as roads and weather would permit. According to Bor,[3] the

[1] The act is given entire in the appendix. Later, the Duke of Montpensier summoned a legal and ecclesiastical council in France, which decided that his daughter's conventual vows had not been in conformity either with the Council of Trent or the laws of France.—*Ibid.*, 223. See also *Apology*, 73.

[2] She was received by "Heeren Keeneburg and Zwieten and the deputies of Dordrecht, Alkmaar, Flushing, and Brill, and honoured with a gift of 6000 pounds."

[3] Bor, i., 644.

prince received her with great ceremony, and on June 12th, they were married with much rejoicing, and were received at Dordrecht in a stately manner and treated with every token of joy, but there was no dancing.

The indignation which John had apprehended was expressed everywhere. It was thought that the prince had lost sympathy for his cause by a perfectly needless disregard of every one's prejudices. As usual, the most racy expression of dissatisfaction came from the landgrave.[1]

"I cannot understand what the prince is thinking of, let alone that wiseacre, Aldegonde, or whoever else has helped in the matter. *Nam si pietatem respicias.* If you consider piety, you must remember that she is French, and a nun, a runaway nun at that, about whom all kinds of stories are told of the way she kept her cloister vows, before the prince wanted to put himself out of the mud into the sea.

"*Si formam.* If it is beauty he is after, you can hardly believe he was charmed by that, since, undoubtedly, no one can look at the bride without being rather frightened than pleased.

"*Si spem prolis.* The prince has, indeed, already too many children for his circumstances, and ought rather to wish, if he were in his senses, that he had neither wife nor child.

"*Si amicitiam.* If it is friendship, we do not believe he will get it. Her own father is so incensed against her, that the prince cannot expect much gratitude from him and her relatives.

"So we cannot imagine what has led him into this

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 226.

business, which will estrange many of his friends, whose friendship has not stood him in ill stead. It is then a great muddle, and looks to us as if Holland and Zealand in seeking *protection*, were going to bring themselves into subjection. They had better look to it that it does not go as it did with the admiral at his Paris wedding, for the gentlemen do not pardon such injuries without *mercury aud sublimated arsenic*."

However, the marriage was an accomplished fact. The Nassau family had to swallow their dismay, and make the best of it. On June 24th, Charlotte wrote[1] a pleasant, respectful note to Juliana, her new mother-in-law, evidently hoping that she is to be well received in the family. On July 7th, Orange wrote[2] a very long, characteristic letter to John in answer to his remonstrance upon his marriage. First he regrets that John had not sent him the documents he had asked for.[3] Then he expresses his sorrow that John should have taken his marriage so keenly to heart, and that he had begged him not to be too hasty, but to wait till after the Diet of July 29th, at Frankfort.

"To which I answer, my brother, that my intention has always been—since God gave me any understanding—not to trouble myself about words and menaces in anything I could conscientiously do without wrong to my neighbour. If I had listened to the warnings of

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 230.

[2] *Ibid.*, 244.

[3] "Aussi ai-je par la mesme lettre apperceu (dont ay esté tres marry) qu'estey en merveilleuse peyne de ce mien mariage qui est en train."

princes or any one else, would I ever have embarked on the important enterprise I have undertaken? When I was convinced that neither prayers nor exhortations were of any avail, I saw that active resistance with the grace of God, was the only remedy. . . .

"It is the same thing now, with my marriage. It is something I do with good conscience before God, and without just cause for reproach from men. Indeed, I consider that I am bound to do it by God's holy ordinance, and there is no need to answer men, because the thing is so perfectly clear. It must be remembered that I waited five years, gave due warning to all the relatives through you and my brother-in-law, Count Hohenlohe, and not a person lent me a hand. For although there appeared to be many difficulties in the way of my marriage, and, as you justly say, it was not something to be passed over superficially, yet, on the other hand, any further delay would have made the matter more public, as it would have given rise to more comment and discussion, which is always injurious. There is nothing that checks evil suspicions so quickly, or that is in such good taste as a quiet and rapid mode of procedure, as though one were the best judge of his own behaviour, rather than to blazon a matter everywhere with the sound of a trumpet, and lay oneself open to the criticism of those who are ignorant of the whole truth.

"As to the difficulties you raise about the dowry and the children who may be born to me, pray consider that no delay, I will not say, only until the next Diet, but for a century, so to speak, would have solved them. . . . I have made a frank and open statement about my duties to my children, and made all plain. Why should I live longer in the state of widowerhood to which I have been so long condemned, when I could rightfully

put an end to my lonely state?[1] . . . I firmly believe that I have taken the right course, not only for myself, but for the general cause."

In the rest of the letter he touched lightly on Netherland affairs. "The king's commissioners and ours are still at Breda, but everything is slow, and there is little hope of a settlement."

On the same date Orange wrote[2] to the Elector of Saxony, giving the same general explanation of his marriage, and expressing his hope that the elector would take it in good part. But no words were powerful enough to make Augustus like it, and he expressed his disapproval in terms that were more vigorous than polite. Talk about the Bourbon marriage was more or less current all summer. Gaspar Schomberg, the agent who had done so much in France, wrote that the feeling of disapproval there was very strong.[3] When the Diet met at Ratisbon in October, the comments were many and bitter.[4] Even the Elector Palatine, who had undoubtedly pushed the matter, backed down from his responsibility and said that it was none of his doing.

[1] "Car quand à ce que vous alléguez qu'en priant Dieu et m'efforçant j'eusse bien peu obtenir plus longtemps sa grâce . . . sans prendre ce soubdain conseil de me marier, je ne le veulx pas desbattre; mais puis que le dilay n'eust peu remédier à aucuns inconvéniens par vous allégués, et aux aultres y eust peu beaucoup nuire, j'estyme que ce seroit esté peine perdue de pourchasser ceste requeste de Dieu, lequel ne m'a jamais promis de le donner, mais veult qu'on embrasse les remèdes que Lui mesme propose en Sa parolle."

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 252.

[3] *Ibid.*, 257.

[4] *Ibid.*, 299.

The almost universal feeling was, that if the prince had time to form new family ties and think of his personal happiness, the Netherland affairs could not be so badly off. This, too, was John's point of view. The Netherlands were enormously in debt to him. He had given large sums to a cause that was not his, and then had assumed his brother's other responsibilities in a very remarkable manner. The chief burden of Anne had fallen on his shoulders. Marie, now a young lady of nineteen, Anne, thirteen, Maurice, eight, and Emilie, six years old, were all still in his charge.

In this summer of 1575, John began to urge that the estates should recognise his claim.[1] Orange wrote[2] to him on July 31st, that any payment then was a simple impossibility. That he would if he could, but he could not. John shows a most Christian spirit. His need for money was pressing, his claim most just, but he goes on writing long, respectfully affectionate letters. Other anxieties came to him, too, as can be seen from the following extract[3] from a letter of October 13th:

"There is no especial news from here. My mother, all your children and mine are, thank God, pretty well. There is, however, illness in the neighbourhood, especially in some villages, as more than a hundred are dead of the pest. Within three months four persons have died of the plague in my house, as we learned afterwards. The young party are all at Siegen. My mother,

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 158, 172.
[2] *Ibid.*, 262.
[3] *Ibid.*, 285.

your daughter, my wife and sister would not, however, leave here, as I am obliged, from various causes, to stay."

Juliana has married and is well. John's oldest boys are going to Heidelberg, the best seat of learning in Europe, but what shall be done with Maurice? In some letter, too, John says that Mlle. of Orange is of marriageable age, and the prince answers[1] that he would be glad indeed to find a husband, but he cannot do much in way of a dot.

The plague increased. On December 4th, John wrote,[2] still from Dillenburg, that two hundred persons have been attacked and died, also several of his little court. His family have escaped, though his mother and sister felt ill for several days. Juliana had not left yet with her husband, as Count Gunther had been attacked with his old trouble, the gout.

The new union between Holland and Zealand was solemnly recognised on June 4, 1575, a week before the prince's wedding day. He took his honeymoon and then formally accepted the government on July 10th, making only one important change in the articles. There was one clause, stipulating that the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion should cease. The prince insisted that the phrase should read, "the exercise of all religion at variance with the gospel should cease." This wording left the door open for a general religious toleration, which was, however, very slow to enter.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 266.

[2] *Ibid.*, 318.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE UNION OF DELFT.

1575-1576.

WHEN the conference at Breda was ended in July, hostilities were renewed without delay. Before the end of the month, Hierges, one of the Spanish commanders, laid siege to the town of Oudewater, which yielded after a brave defence of eighteen days, and was cruelly punished for its audacity.[1] This advantage gained by the Spaniards was followed up by another important success. The grand commander determined to make an effort to obtain an advantageous footing on the seaboard.[2] In

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 279.

[2] Hoofd, x., 404.

The cause of the patriots was blotted during this summer by the unprincipled conduct of Diedrich Sonoy, Governor of North Holland. He discovered a conspiracy among the inhabitants to aid the Spaniards. It was supposed that the culprits were Catholics, and Sonoy instituted a tribunal to root out all concerned, which rivalled the Blood Council in the cruelty of its measures. When the affair reached the prince's ears he peremptorily checked the outrages.—*Ibid.*, 403.

Zealand the Spaniards only held Tholen, which Mondragon had won by his brilliant wading expedition across the straits. From this point of attack Requesens determined to repeat that memorable venture, and to send troops on foot across the shallows to the next island, Duiveland.[1] The distance was six miles. Beyond that island was Schouwen, fronting directly on the ocean, fortified by its strong city of Zierikzee, of which he was especially anxious to gain possession. On the night of September 27th his preparations were complete.[2] Two hours before low water, 1500 men started from Tholen and marched in the darkness through the water, across the uncertain bottom.

From time to time the blackness of the waters was revealed by flashes of lightning. Some men were lost but the majority succeeded in reaching Duiveland, where they took the patriot garrison completely by surprise.[3]

Startled at the sight of an invading army rising bodily out of the sea, the men lost their heads. The commander, Charles de Boisot, brother to the admiral, was slain by his own troops in the confusion

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[1] Hoofd, x., 405.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 279; Wagenaar, xxv., 70.

[3] On September 29th, the prince wrote in a postscript of a letter to Count John: "News is just brought to me from Zealand that the enemy took advantage of the calm weather to seize on the Isle of Duiveland. It was not done without great loss to them, 1200 to 1500 men, as ours made a brave defence. But on our side M. de Boisot, commander of Walcheren, was left dead, a loss which weighs heavily on me as he was a clever, energetic gentleman, and devoted to our cause." Groen, *Archives*, v., 282.

that ensued. The patriots fled to their vessels and to the forts, but were soon compelled to surrender. The Spaniards secured their conquest, and then braved the rising tide and marched on across the second and narrower creek to Schouwen where they immediately reduced Brouwershaven on the North Sea, and laid siege to Bommenede and Zierikzee. Both towns resisted bravely, the former, falling October 26th, and the latter holding out until June of 1576.[1]

These gains of the enemy and the difficulty of raising sufficient funds to present to them a front, determined the prince to urge a new course of action upon the people.

On October 4th, the states of Holland and Zealand met at Rotterdam in obedience to their stadtholder's summons,[2] and he showed them that their fortunes were, indeed, at so low an ebb that submission must be made, unless effectual aid could be obtained from a new source.

Up to this date the fiction of loyalty to the king's person had been officially maintained. All the prince's proclamations had been issued in the name of his liege lord, Philip of Spain, he acting as his Spanish majesty's stadtholder. Orange now declared that it was necessary to adopt a sovereign protector capable of giving the battered and impoverished provinces substantial aid.[3]

This plain speaking startled some of the deputies.

[1] Hoofd, x., 407.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 313; Hoofd, x., 411.

[3] Wagenaar, xxv., 80; *Resol. Holl.*, Oct. 3d.

The nobles, Dordrecht, Gorcum, and Brill agreed that this step might be both necessary and justifiable; Delft, Leyden, Gouda, and Schiedam felt doubtful. A deputation of two nobles and the representatives of Dordrecht, Delft, and Rotterdam[1] were empowered to discuss the matter with the prince, who proposed to share the responsibility of the decision by taking the sense of the municipalities, thus rendering the action a popular movement instead of being, merely, the result of delegates' resolution. The estates, therefore, took a recess of a few days to enable the deputies to consult their constituents. When they reassembled at Delft, it was resolved "that they could find no other means of delivery than to cut loose from the kingdom of Spain and seek the protection of some powerful Christian potentate."[2] After long discussion it was decided that the sovereign best suited to their requirements was the Queen of England.[3] Elizabeth had not indeed shown uniform kindness to her struggling neighbours. At the request of the Spanish ambassador in London,[4] she had forbidden the entry of

[1] Wagenaar, xxv., 80.

[2] Dan met aenneminge van eenen anderen Christelychen potentat van den koninckrycke van Spangien te scheiden.—Bor, i., 651—(ref. from Groen).

[3] It was urged that she professed the evangelical faith, was descended from the ancient Counts of Holland, and there would be, moreover, a commercial advantage in allying themselves to England. —Groen, *Archives*, v., 313. Na vele beraedslaginge is geresolveert dat men op sekere conditien, de souveraniheit van de Graefschappen van Holland en Zeeland presenteren soude aen de Coninginne van Engeland.—Bor, i., 651.

[4] Hoofd, x., 411.

her realm to the chief patriot leaders. When, however, she heard that Aldegonde and Junius had gone to France on a secret mission, she grew alarmed and dispatched Daniel Rogers to "carry her friendship" to the rebel stadtholder. At the same time she sent another messenger to Requesens and offered her mediation. Affairs in France were uncertain, and it looked at one time as though a marriage might be patched up between the British maiden and the French king's brother, which would change international relations.

Orange was in great perplexity. On Nov. 29th, he wrote to John, bitterly regretting the inaction forced on him by the lack of money, and describing the negotiations with Elizabeth. John replied to this, and to two previous letters at the same time, as the raging of the pest in Nassau had prevented him from writing earlier. He gives him German news, but promise of aid he cannot offer.[1]

At the New Year, Zierikzee was in a state of siege and there was little prospect of aiding the plucky burghers to prolong their resistance. On Jan. 4th, the prince wrote[2] to John, from Rotterdam, anxiously asking if there were any chance of succour from John Casimir, the Count Palatine's son.

On Feb. 4th, he wrote[3] again: "Zierikzee has been revictualled twice, and they have succeeded in lay-

[1] In this letter he mentions that la Mark is spreading a report everywhere that the Prince of Orange intends to poison him and so he has sworn vengeance on him and the whole House of Nassau.—Groen, *Archives*, v., 313.

[2] *Ibid.*, 326.

[3] *Ibid.*, 327.

ing siege to three forts held by the Spaniards on the Lecke and the Meuse." John had asked advice as to the desirability of his going to Thuringia with his brother-in-law Count Schwarzburg and his sister.

Orange's answer is characteristic [1]:

"I agree with you that it is very requisite that there should always be someone of authority in your house at Dillenburg, but I am also afraid that your staying at home may be taken ill by our friends, and as you know, the more closely we maintain friendship with everyone the better, so it seems to me that it is advisable for you to go to Thuringia even if you only stay a couple of days. Do, however, as you think best."

On March 5th, the Grand Commander Requesens died, after a short illness of five days.[2] His régime had been a very different one from that of his predecessor. Alva came to crush a discontented nation with an iron heel. The idea of there being any strength in the protests of this people of butter seemed to him simply ridiculous. When the grand commander arrived to assume the reigns of government, he found Alva utterly worn out with the hatred he had excited in fulfilling his task. The new regent saw that there had been too much severity, and his attitude was that of a military citizen of the world, who could smooth all difficulties with a little worldly wisdom, combined, of course, with necessary firmness, but not unnecessary cruelty.

[1] He still believed in the necessity of catering to public opinion, though he had respected it so little in regard to his marriage.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v. 330;—Hoofd, x., 413.

Motley calls him a thoroughly commonplace person, placed in a high position,[1] but he compares very favourably with his predecessors in the difficult office he assumed. His most brilliant exploit was the capture of Schouwen, but he omitted to follow up his advantage as well as he might have done. He had naturally been rather annoyed at the reluctance of the estates to furnish him with funds. In a letter to Spain he wrote, "*Dios libera nos de essos estados*,"[2] a wish in which his royal master fervently echoed him.

Bor relates as a fact which he heard from a trustworthy noble,[3] that just before the death of Requesens Orange grew so utterly discouraged at prolonging the struggle without funds, that he thought of collecting all the vessels he could find in Holland and Zealand, putting on board all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, together with all their movable property, and setting off across the sea to found a new republic.[4] Just before sailing, the windmills were to be burned, and the dykes pierced, so that the enemy would find themselves masters of nothing but an overflowing sea. Though this project may have come into the prince's mind in the moments of discouragement that he felt only too often, it seems very improbable that it was a plan.

[1] *Rise of Dutch Rep.*, iii., 50.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 331.

[3] See also Bor, i., 664. Ik hebbe uit den mond van een gehoofwaerdig Edelman, etc.

[4] Groen, *Archives*, v., 372. Renon de France says: "On tenoit pour certain que le prince d'Orange avoit dépesché son maistre d'hostel avec partie de ces meubles pour préparer logis en Ecosse où il destinoit se retirer."

There is no mention of it in his letters to John. If such a scheme were really under consideration, it was promptly cast aside on the death of Requesens, which left Philip without a personal representative.

Requesens had not realised that death was imminent, and had made no arrangements for a successor. The council of state, therefore, assumed the reins of government.[1] The Duke of Aerschot, Count Berlaymont, and President Viglius were still members of the council, as they had been in the old days. The number was completed by Assonleville, Baron Rassenghien, Arnold Sasbout, and Jerome de Roda, the last named being the only Spaniard. Count Mansfeld was appointed by this council to the supreme military command and to the government of Brussels. When the news of these events was reported to Philip, he was furious. Requesens had no business to die at a moment so inconvenient to his sovereign. Though Philip disapproved of the arrangement of the government, he did not take immediate measures to change it. He had not decided on a new regent, nor on the precise policy he wished Requesens's successor to pursue, and, disadvantageous as was any uncertainty of government in a revolted country, he took the advice of Hopper, and allowed events to take their own course for a time.

If Orange had ever seriously entertained the above mentioned scheme of emigration, he straightway abandoned it now. Old Viglius was the only one of Philip's representatives who saw that to permit an interregnum was to play into the hands of the rebel

[1] Hoofd, x., 413 *et seq.*—Groen, *Archives*, v., 331.

leader. Philip seemed to be asleep, but, as the worthy president said in a letter to Hopper[1]: "The Prince of Orange and his Beggars do not sleep, nor will they be quiet until they have made use of this interregnum to do us some immense grievance."[2]

Certainly the prince did not sleep. There was no Spanish watch-dog on the scene, and he took action accordingly. He immediately opened correspondence with many leading gentlemen in Brussels and in other places in the Netherlands. The prince was fully informed of the existence of a germ of national feeling, and watched his opportunity to foster it.

On April 4th Orange wrote[3] to John:

"M. de St. Aldegonde, with the other deputies whom I and the estates of this country[4] sent to England, have not yet returned, as they have no decision from the Queen of England, who would do us a great favour by making up her mind quicker, as you can well believe we

[1] Joachim Hopper was a learned Doctor of Laws, a Fleming, a Catholic, and a Nationalist—that is, he was loyal to Philip, but wished the Spanish to be withdrawn. In 1566, he went to Spain to give the king information on the affairs of the Netherlands, and remained there as representative of the provinces. His counsel to Philip to permit an interregnum at this crisis shows how little he understood the situation at home. As a practical man of affairs he was not considered very effective. On March 18, 1577, Granvelle wrote: "The letter seems to me very odd, and evidently from the forge of poor *Sieur Hopperus*, who did not write the best French in the world, God pardon him. He was learned, but knew little of business, as can be plainly seen."

[2] *Analecta Belgica* (Viglii epistolæ), 113, 862; Groen, *Archives*, v., 374.

[3] *Ibid.*, 334.

[4] This means only the estates of Holland and Zealand.

lose many good opportunities by a delay. I am hourly expecting tidings with the first wind, and will not fail to let you know. We have no certain news from France, though I am assured that the peace is a sure thing, the king being quite inclined to grant it. If it really result, it will be good for all Christianity. Let me know your news; how about the levies which are rumoured there, and whether the emperor will continue his journey to Poland. I must not omit to tell you, that it pleased God to deliver my wife of a little girl the last day of March, early in the morning, for which I thank the All-Powerful, with a prayer that it may be for the advance of His glory.

"From Delft."

In a postscript he tells John not to worry about the elector and the landgrave molesting him for Anne's dowry. They have no real claim.

"And in regard to my son Maurice, I would be glad to have them [1] take him and bring him up, but I would be sorry if he had an education like that of Duke Franz of Lauenburg. However, if they come after Maurice, you can answer that you must consult me first, and thus gain time, and we can decide according to circumstances."

On April 30th, John answers [2] this letter in his usual affectionate manner, congratulating his brother pleasantly on the birth of the child, whom he must have regarded as an additional burden. Of his nephew he says:

"That Maurice should be sent to that place would be a shame, for he gives prospect, thank God, of being very

[1] The Elector of Saxony had proposed to take charge of Maurice.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 344.

useful to you and to the fatherland. My children's tutor cannot praise him sufficiently. He wrote to me a few days ago from Heidelberg that he gave evidence of an inspired intellect [divinum ingenium]."

In spite of Maurice's tender years he was already at Heidelberg with John's four sons, William Louis, John, George, and Philip, and the four sons of Count de Berghes. The nine young cousins were under the charge of one *hof-meister*.

This interim gave the patriot party hope, and it spurred them to look again to their internal affairs.[1] The union of Holland and Zealand in 1575, though an improvement on their arrangements of 1574, proved ineffective. There were many hitches in its practical working, and there was constant conflict of interests, as there always is in loose confederations. Finally, the prince told the estates that unless they could come to a better understanding he wished they would find someone else to take his place. As a result of his protests, a second act of union, known as the Union of Delft, was formed between the two provinces, and was signed at Delft, April 25, 1576, in a congress of representatives from the states, nobles and citizens of Holland and Zealand.[2] The previous provisions were reënacted and strengthened. The union between the provinces was made firmer, and this bond still held between the two, when the others joined them. The power of the prince was

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 340.

[2] This was a very important event, as the document was the real foundation of the United Netherlands, and the model for many later confederations.

made provisory, and he was empowered "to treat with the King of France, his brother, or any other potentate, to receive these lands of Holland and Zealand under his protection."

The new union consisted of eighteen articles.[1] The deputies from the states were obliged to meet when summoned by the prince, or otherwise, on penalty of a fine. New causes of litigation were to come under the prince's jurisdiction. The confederates promised to assist each other mutually in preventing all injustice, wrong, or violence, even towards an enemy. [Hoewel ook vijand.] The administration of justice and the authority of the law were promised by the contracting parties. The common expenses were to be apportioned between the provinces. Nine commissioners, appointed by the prince on nomination by the estates, were to be in permanent session as his advisers, and as assessors and collectors of the taxes. The tenure of the union was not perpetual, but was from six months to six months, with six weeks' notice.[2] The prince was named as chief of the

[1] April 25th. Groen, *Archives*, v., 340. See Bor, i., 668; Motley, iii., 58.

[2] According to Lettenhove, this act was signed by sixteen deputies from the towns, and three representatives of the nobles. Opinion was not unanimous throughout the province. There was especial repugnance to the idea of offering the sovereignty they withdrew from Philip to a stranger. A certain anonymous memoir addressed to the states of Holland [now in the Record Office at London. See *Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 45], voiced this feeling: "In default of the legitimate ruler, the sovereignty belongs to the people, and not to you, gentlemen, who are only the servants, members, and deputies of the said people, with your commissions and instructions definitely limited,

government, and his powers were definitely defined. He was commander-in-chief by land and sea, with power to appoint all officers, from high to low. In his hand was the protection of the land. He could send garrisons into every city or village at his will, without consultation with the estates, town magistrates, or anyone. He was, *in behalf of Philip, as Count of Holland and Zealand*,[1] to cause justice to be administered by the supreme court. The estates were to nominate three candidates for every vacant post in political and judicial offices, out of which three, Orange was to appoint one. He was to appoint magistrates and other civil functionaries, and to prevent governors and military officers from meddling in political and judicial affairs. He was to maintain the exercise of the reformed religion, and to cause to cease the exercise of all religion, *contrary to the gospel* —that ambiguous phrase which he had introduced in the articles of 1575. "No inquisition, however, was to be made into any man's belief or conscience, or that any man by cause thereof, should suffer trouble, injury, or hindrance."

In this league, each municipality acted as a little sovereign, sending envoys to the congress, to vote and to sign as plenipotentiaries. The vote of each city was indivisible, so the number of its deputies was immaterial. The nobles represented not only

not only as to time, but as to the immediate business on hand. These conditions are as far from sovereignty, as a subject is from a prince, or, to state it better, as the heavens from the earth."

[1] That is, Philip was still considered Count. They did not withdraw his hereditary title until later, but all his power was lodged in his governor, and the new protector was to be chosen over his head.

their own order, but were supposed to act for the peasants on the land.[1] There was thus a fair representation of the nation at large. It was not till later that the corporations suppressed the popular element, usurped self-election, and were stiffened into fictitious personages, who never died and never were thoroughly alive. The various members of the confederacy were, locally, republics, but the general government they established was monarchical. Orange was really made a sovereign *ad interim*, for, while the king's authority was suspended, the prince was invested not only with executive and appointing power, but with a large share in the legislative functions of the state.[2]

The prince was not a theoretical statesman. At this epoch he was simply working from step to step as seemed expedient.[3] It was entirely in his hands to make his provisory authority perpetual. He was at the height of his popularity, and was in truth the only man really trusted. The expression "Father William" was already used, although he was a comparatively young man. It was he who insisted strenuously on the necessity of seeking foreign protection. He saw the difficulties of being the only helmsman of the new ship of state, which he was trying to unmoor from the royal docks. The responsibility weighed very heavily on him. He looked far older than his forty-three years, and he had no desire to try to bear the burden alone.

[1] See Motley, iii., 60. [2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 340.

[3] In this small state the executive, legislative, and judicial powers mingled more than an *a priori* philosophy would allow.

Elizabeth at last "did us the favour of making up her mind," but her resolution did not prove satisfactory.[1] She said it was not fitting for her to assume the protectorate of Holland and Zealand until she had made every effort to reconcile them to their lawful sovereign.[2] She would write a nice frank letter to her brother of Spain, who would surely take her sisterly advice when he heard her straightforward language.

While the people greatly desired the English alliance, Orange himself never had much confidence in the probability of making it. He had far greater hopes from France. As soon, therefore, as his own authority was strengthened by the new union, he turned his attention towards the east. There, the cause of the Protestants seemed to be in the ascendant. On May 10th, a treaty called the Peace of Monsieur was concluded between Henry III. and the Huguenots, with the Duke of Alençon at their head.[3] The terms were apparently most favourable to the reform party, as it was stipulated that free exercise of their religion was to be permitted throughout the realm, and that Protestants were eligible to all offices, and as deputies to the chambers, and all

[1] See Froude, xi., pp. 99 *et al.*

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 333. See also *Rel. Politiques*, viii., 188, *et seq.*

[3] Alençon had formed an alliance with the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the other Huguenot chiefs, to oppose his brother. He declared himself a Calvinist, and consented to assist in Protestant rites to show his zeal for the cause, but as he snapped cherry-stones over the congregation during the sermons, his zeal could hardly have been very inspiring to his allies.—*Les Huguenots*, etc., iii., 620,

courts were to dispense justice impartially.[1] Everything, in short, was promised, but no guarantees were offered.

Henry III. is said to have wept when these terms were reported to him as necessary. He feared the strength of the coalition against him, and signed the treaty as the easiest means of quelling the difficulty. There was, therefore, for a time, a fine show of good feeling between France and the cause of reform, and Orange was quite ready to reap what advantage he could. The chance of active aid from the German states was very slight. The prince had alienated many of his former supporters by his marriage, and then a new crop of hair-splitting differences between the Protestants was doing much damage to any prospect of concerted action among them.[2]

On May 16th, the prince wrote to John[3] that Zierikzee was still holding out, "but I must say that all those who ought to help us are very deliberate." His faithful secretary, Brunynck, took advantage of

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[1] There was a special article assuring the principality of Orange to the prince. Hoofd, xi., 416.

[2] While the prince was working for a political union in the provinces, Count John was endeavouring to bring about an effective religious concord in upper Germany. But the sects would insist on laying more stress on their differences than on their points of agreement. On May 9th, John writes: "Landgrave William spares no pains in trying to make a concord among the evangelical sects; he wishes to ally, not only Lutherans and Calvinists, but also the Flacians, Majorists, Adiaphorists, Ubiquitists, and Brentians." No one would realise that "*Het Geschil is te kleen, om dieshalven, gesplijt te blijven.*"—Groen, *Archives*, v., 349.

[3] *Ibid.*, 358.

the dispatch of the prince's messenger to write[1] to Count John on the same date:

"His Excellency is very well, thank God, but he is so overburdened with business troubles, labours, and works, that he has hardly time to breathe from morning to night. If your Honour's private affairs would only allow you to come hither as often as I and all worthy citizens desire, it would be the greatest relief to his Excellency in these times, but as that be unadvisable for various considerations, we must have patience. Our enemies talk no more of peace. I believe they are now waiting the issue of the siege of Zierikzee. If peace can be made in France we hope that will free us from many ills."

On June 1st, Brunynck writes[2] again to John that a plan for rescuing Zierikzee had failed. Admiral Boisot attempted to succour it by sea on May 25th, but Mondragon had thrown piles of rubbish into the shallow harbour, and Boisot went aground on the unknown obstacles. He found it impossible to free his ship, the *Red Lion*, and he feared lest the ebbing tide would leave him an easy prey to the enemy, if he waited for day to reveal that he was limed like a bird. He therefore decided not to await sunrise, and sprang into the water to swim to the nearest friendly shelter. Three hundred men followed him, but when his strength failed, they could not aid their leader in the pitchy darkness, and he sank in the midnight waters.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 360.
[2] *Ibid.*, 364.

THE THEATRE AT ORANGE.
(From a photograph.)

Charlotte of Bourbon wrote[1] on June 2d to her husband:

"MONSEIGNEUR: It is indeed to my deep regret, that all the labour and pains you undergo down there have not succeeded according to our hopes. I am especially troubled to hear of the accident to the big ship, and of the loss you have suffered in the admiral's death, for I do not doubt you will be in much perplexity as to whom to put in his place. The Sire de Viry told me that Count Hohenlohe had brought you some assistance, which I was glad to hear, as I am also, to know that you wish me to join you; but as I am still very weak I have not dared to ask your counsel since this first report from Zierikzee, lest I might have new cause for new fear. I will wait here seven or eight days, during which I will, please God, take the air as far as The Hague, to see how I feel. As to your daughter, she is very well. I have asked whether it would be dangerous to take her on the sea. Many say no. Nevertheless I beg you to tell me what to do. I have not failed to show your letters, as you commanded me, to the estates. I hope the news from France will be to your satisfaction, and then it will be to mine. I am content if you are, and if I can be assured of your good health, to which I beg you to pay attention.

"Your very humble and obedient
"wife as long as she may live,
"C. DE BOURBON.

"At Delft, June 2d, 7 in the evening."

This was a soothing and refreshing letter after Anne's egoistical effusions. Mr. Motley continually

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 366.

mentions the Taciturn's independence. It is his need of sympathy that seems to me to be his most prominent characteristic. In this month of June, the prince's eldest son, Philip William, Count of Buren, found means to write to his Uncle John. He was pursuing his interrupted studies at the University of *Alcala de Hènaris* in New Castile. Orange had, according to Groen, made many unsuccessful attempts to rescue his son. As the young man was evidently kept under close surveillance, his excuses for not writing seem rather superfluous. The letter is as follows:[1]

"MONSIEUR: I do not doubt that you will think it strange to have received no news from me in this long time, considering the great obligation I feel myself under to you and to all my relations and friends over there, both from the natural bond of affinity between us, as from the continual assistance you have so loyally shown my father during his adversities. But, knowing the little convenience, and dangers of the time and place where I am, I hope that my failure to write will be attributed to that, rather than to default of my duty or negligence. The bearer of this will give you fuller information, and I beg you to give entire credence to him. May the all-powerful God send me the means of deserving all His mercies, and give you, monseigneur my uncle, good health and long life and the whole of your desires.

"In recommending myself to your good graces,

"Entirely your very affectionate

"nephew ready to serve and obey you,

"P. WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

"TO COUNT JOHN OF NASSAU.

"From Alcala, June 30, 1576."

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 369.

It is curious to note that the poor exile does not mention either his individual title or his name Philip. It is William of Nassau that he makes prominent. He was not quite alone among Spaniards. His own steward at Louvain, Wiltberg, had been allowed to accompany him, and he, too, seizes this opportunity, which may have come to them by chance, to write to Count John,[1] assuring him in general terms of their gratitude for his loyalty to the prince. Evidently the bearer was charged to say more. Wiltberg's letter is dated July 10th.

All efforts to aid the stout-hearted Zierikzee citizens proved vain. Nine months had they held out, but the loss of Boisot was so serious that further resistance seemed hopeless. On June 21st, according to the prince's instructions, they surrendered. The following is the account sent by Brunynck to John[2]:

"MONSEIGNEUR: You may be sure it is not my fault that you do not get news from us oftener. I have urged his Excellency every day to dispatch the bearer of this, but every day he was overwhelmed with business, and every day he hoped for better news from Zierikzee. But such was not God's will. Your Honour will see herewith all the particulars of the surrender of the said city. Your Honour can imagine whether his Excellency has not his hands full, all alone as he is. It is true that the Count Hohenlohe[3] does his part well and diligently. He begins to gain all hearts, so it is to be hoped that in

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 370.

[2] *Ibid.*, v., 371.

[3] November 12, 1575, the estates of Holland appointed Hohenlohe as the prince's right-hand man, with a salary of 5000 livres.

time he will do great service to his Excellency and to the country. The deputies his Excellency sent to France have not yet returned. The country is unanimous in holding out. His Excellency is well, but madame has been ill ever since her confinement."

It was not until July 16th, that the prince found leisure to write to John.[1] He had, besides his military operations, been working hard to make a treaty between Flushing and the English merchants, who were inclined to be too favourable to the Spaniards.

"My Brother: From my other letters you will know the condition of things here. Since I wrote, it has proved advisable for the citizens of Zierikzee (as they feared the rigour of the enemy if they waited till the last extremity) to submit to an accommodation. This was done the penult of the last month, and the said Zierikzee surrendered by composition. I send you a duplicate so you can see just what the conditions are. The loss of the said city at first took the people somewhat by surprise, but they begin to take courage now.

"If any one on any side had given us the least assistance in the world, or if from the beginning we had all done our utmost duty, the poor city would never have fallen into the enemy's hands, especially as we have been assured that the enemy were themselves so reduced that they could not longer have continued the siege. But every attempt that I made both in France and England has been utterly in vain. We had always hoped that the French peace would at least have enlarged their benefices to us, but it seems to me that every one is content with looking after his private affairs, without troubling him-

[1] Orange to John. Groen, *Archives*, v., 379.

self about those of others. We can still trust in God, but I leave to your imagination whether I have not had reason for anxiety. I am working my best to prevent the enemy from making further headway, but we do not know what their plans are. Our soldiers, mostly Walloons, coming from Zierikzee, have been a great gain to us, because they are well-trained, good men.

"July 16th."

There is a long postscript about the money due the landgrave, which he has advanced for the Netherland cause. Just at this epoch it is impossible for Orange to think of paying it, and he can only send fair words and promises of payment when affairs look up.

There was, fortunately, no sack of Zierikzee. The citizens agreed to an indemnity of 200,000 guilders, and were allowed to retain their privileges and charters. They joyfully brought their household silver to a mint which was immediately set up in the town hall, and the necessary cash for the first payments was turned out. This arrangement did not, however, suit one of the parties to the transaction, viz., the Spanish soldiers. A quiet, orderly payment went to headquarters, and did not find its way into their pockets. A good, wild sacking of a fallen town, with distribution of booty, was, according to the soldiers' laws, their notion of the fitting course of action.[1] One of those curious, well-organised mutinies, which seemed a regular occurrence in the Spanish army, broke out. For twenty-three months they

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 381.

had received no pay. The soldiers considered the Netherlands as a mine that they were exploiting in common with their chiefs, and that a composition with a town that their valour had brought to submission, robbed them of their legal share of the spoils. They did not clamour for their wages when they saw near prospect of booty, but when the peaceable arrangement with Zierikzee was announced, their discontent broke bounds, and a regular mutiny was organised with all the customary forms.[1] Their commanders tried in vain to pacify their companies with promises of speedy payment. Money did not follow the fair words, the mutineers proceeded in their organisation, and soon the *Eletto* reigned supreme over the army in Schouwen. When the officers found their authority set at naught, they turned to the state council for help, and that respectable body was in as great a dilemma as the corporation of Hamelin Town. All Brabant was filled with fear and terror.[2]

During these years of oppression the people had never grown reconciled to the presence of the Spanish army, which ate up the good of the land before the eyes of the inhabitants. In this respect the two provinces which had formally revolted were certainly better off than their fifteen loyal neighbours. There was a lack of concord between the north and the south on religion and authority, but there were no

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[1] See Chapter XX.

[2] In his *Apology* Orange says that the mutiny was a blessed instrument to open the people's eyes.

two opinions about the Spanish soldiery,[1] though one portion of the land was paying for its support, and the other for its expulsion. Brussels was not so far from Schouwen that the inhabitants could feel themselves free from personal danger. Their fears proved well grounded. The mutiny spread rapidly, and the unpaid soldiers proceeded to levy contributions on the poor Brabantine inhabitants. The council of state sent out Mansfeld to treat with the insurgents, but as his offers were not backed by the money they demanded, his mission was fruitless, and he returned sadly to the distracted council of state. Soon the mutineers grew bolder and made a sudden descent on the city of Alost and carried the town by storm. Everyone who did not immediately submit was butchered, and the mutineers established themselves within the walls and laid a hundred adjacent parishes under contribution. This was sufficient to inflame the hatred that had been suppressed for nine years. The Brussels populace acted as one man, besieged the council chamber, and insisted that the Spanish troops should be declared outlaws. On July 26th, that frightened body issued a proclamation in Philip's name, declaring his Spaniards traitors and murderers, beyond the pale of the law.

Jerome de Roda, the only Spanish member of the council, joined in the edict, though he as well as Romero and other prominent Spaniards were re-

[1] In 1572, a Flemish priest who had every reason to dislike the Protestant rebels, exclaimed: "Ay ghy Spangiaerts, ghy Spangiaerts ghy maeckt ons la Geus." O Spaniards, Spaniards, you are making Beggars!

garded with so much distrust by the citizens, that they were almost in the condition of prisoners on parole.

The Prince of Orange saw at once how this steam of popular excitement might be turned to power for creating a nation. In addition to the freedom of worship, Holland and Zealand had gained a footing on the pathway towards freedom from Spanish domination. It might be possible to induce the Catholic nationalists to follow them on this path. The chief of the two united provinces, therefore, being politic before he was Protestant, was willing to make the way easy for them, and to propose a union of all the provinces with all religious differences set aside.

He wrote to the estates of Brabant, Artois, Hainault, and Guelderland. He showered letters on provincial officers, municipal authorities, and private people on every side, urging individuals and corporate bodies alike to be slaves no longer. He reminded them of their common grievances, and pointed out the necessity of concerted action, offering what aid lay in his power, and promising to do nothing contrary to the wishes of the estates.[1]

Middelburg was then his headquarters, and thence all his numerous communications are dated.

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[1] These letters were not reproductions from one draft. Orange knew the tempers of the separate provinces, and his arguments were vigorously *ad hominem*. To the states of Brabant he pointed out that they had already taken measures that Philip would never forgive. "They [the Spaniards] have conquered you already as they boast, for the crime of *lese-majesty* has placed you at their mercy. I warn you that your last act, by which you declare the army to be

At Brussels things went from bad to worse. The exasperation of the inhabitants increased. The council of state were powerless, and the few Spanish officers still within the city walls were in constant danger.

Jerome de Roda managed to escape from the city and proclaimed himself governor *pro tem.* of the Netherlands, but his authority was no more respected than was that of his colleagues. All were bound hand and foot and acted only as the estates dictated. Roda therefore considered that the whole Spanish authority was embodied in him. He caused a new seal to be struck, and thundered forth proclamations galore, which were attended to with as much humility by the incensed populace as were Canute's commands to the raging sea.

Brussels was thus left with the many-headed estates of Brabant as the real ruler of city and province, for the state council were almost helpless. The time was ripe for a demagogue, and he appeared on the scene in the person of one William of Horn, Seignior de Hèze, who had been placed in command of the troops levied to protect the municipality. He was a young man, full of audacity and energy. From the beginning of the mutiny he had made friends with the people, and inflamed popular indignation against the Spanish

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rebels, is decisive. You have excited the populace against them. . . . Be assured that the measure dealt to you will be ignominy as well as destruction. Let not your leaders expect even the honourable scaffolds of Counts Egmont and Horn. The whipping-post and gibbet will be their certain fate."—Bor., i., 694 *et seq.*; Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 110 *et seq.*; Groen, *Archives*, v., 409 *et seq.*

soldiery and foreign domination. In August, Orange opened a correspondence with him, and for a time he was devoted to the prince although an ardent Catholic.[1] His position gave him power, and by September his plans were ripe for active measures. On the 5th,[2] he appeared suddenly before the council of state with five hundred men-at-arms. In the name of the estates of Brabant, he arrested all the councillors, and assumed the reins of government in addition to his military command.[3] Berlaymont and Mansfeld were imprisoned in the *Broodhuis*, and others in their own houses. At the end of a few weeks all were liberated, but their authority was annihilated. This *coup d'état* in Brussels was followed by popular uprisings in other cities. As the people showed signs of resistance, the mutiny waxed in strength, and the mutineers gained possession of many of the citadels built by Charles V. and by Philip. The forts of Antwerp, Valenciennes, Ghent, Utrecht, Vianen, and Alost were all in the hands of the Spanish veterans, who were not very numerous, but were all skilled soldiers and

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[1] There is no doubt that Orange aided him in his *coup d'état*. Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 106. Letter of Aug. 1st *et seq.*

[2] Lettenhove gives September 4th.

[3] Orange wrote to John : "Things went so far that the Brussels folk, determined to have their liberty, on the 5th of this month, in open day, arrested and imprisoned some of the chief nobles and members of the council of state, Count Mansfeld, M. de Berlaymont, Viglius, Assonleville, and several others. Other cities of Brabant seem ready to rise, and it is to be hoped that God is going to take pity on these poor countries." Groen, *Archives*, v., 409, Sept. 9th. Aerschot was ill at home and there seems some doubt about Viglius being present. See also Motley, iii., 91.

fitted to cope with twice their number of untrained volunteers.

While hoping for co-operation from the other provinces, Orange did not neglect his attempts to weld a foreign alliance. Among his private letters there is the following, dated September 14th, from him to François of Bourbon[1]:

"It has seemed to me that I could not do better than to humbly beg you to employ your favour towards the Duke of Anjou, as he has already done us the honour of evincing an interest in the preservation of this country. Would you not be willing to do your part to encourage this disposition, especially when things look favourable for us and many important people are exerting themselves to re-establish our ancient liberties as Sieur la Garde will tell you?"

[1] This was a brother of Charlotte. Groen says that he was on an affectionate footing with the prince shortly after the marriage. — *Archives*, v., 422.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PACIFICATION OF GHENT. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

1576.

AS the bonds between each province and its sovereign were strained beyond endurance, the prince doubled his efforts to snap them asunder, and to induce the states to link themselves together and present a united front to the king. As a result of his entreaties, and of their own convictions that the existing conditions were unbearable, the estates of Brabant invited her fourteen sister provinces to send delegates to an assembly of the states-general at Brussels.[1] This invitation was accepted. Orange had scattered letters and documents broadcast over the land, to public bodies and private individuals. Now as soon as the states-general were assembled he wrote[2] to

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., xli. Motley mentions this assembly only by indirect reference, and Gachard gives no particulars on the subject.

[2] *Ibid.*, 140. This letter, which was found in Paris, is not dated. Gachard puts it in November, but it looks as though the assembly at Ghent either was not yet in session or was at the very outset of its deliberations.

them collectively, repeating in substance what he had said to each provincial estate individually.

He begged them to be energetic and to refuse to be ruled by the arbitrary will of a king instead of in accordance with their cherished charters—of a king who was notoriously misinformed in regard to the affairs of the land.

"Understand your own position. Steer yourselves free from this dire confusion, which is the true foundation of tyranny and has been the source of ruin to republics from time immemorial. To do this, union among yourselves is important above all. If you will examine both the famous disasters of ancient history and the calamities of modern times, you will see that in France, Italy, and Germany, as well as in Hungary, Africa, and Barbary, where the Turks ravage at will, internal dissensions in a nation have been the root of all ill. My advice, subject to your correction, is, write to the king that you resolutely refuse to endure longer the incubus of his foreign troops, or to submit to the annihilation of all your rights. Express yourselves clearly, without ambiguous statements. Let no phrase creep in which could be to your future prejudice. Let this letter be signed by all the provincial estates, and even by the chief monastic orders,[1] and by all individuals of dignity in the land, or in credit with the king, or who ought to look to public weal. This action would act like a spur to your deliberations. Your position would be defined. You would no longer be swimming between two waters. You would then be

[1] "Et que ceste dicte lettre fut signée de tous les estatz, et mesmes des principaulx ordres des couvents, et de tous ceulx en général qui sont, ou en aulcune dignité au pays, ou en aulcun crédit vers le roi."

in a position to act together and to feel mutual obligation to defend your action. Weighty deeds must bear the seal of their own importance. The ancients understood this. They used to inaugurate their societies and brotherhoods with elaborate ceremonials, so that each individual felt the sanctity of the common bond.[1] . . . Defensive confederations are no new thing in this land. In the year 1261, Louvain, Brussels, Tirlemont, and other Brabantine cities formed an alliance, and there were other similar leagues in 1339, 1368, 1371, 1372, and at many other times. It was by this persistent course of united effort among weak parties, each defenceless alone, that our vaunted privileges, rights, and customs have been so long maintained.

"The king thinks that the only malcontents here are a band of mutinous, so-called heretical rebels, while the country in general is peaceable and content. In the year 1559, when there was question of the departure of the Spanish soldiers, the king himself said to me, '*Si los estados no tuviessen pilares, no hablarian tan alto.*'[2] Let him see that the estates are now supported in their protest by great and small, by prelates, abbots, monks, and ecclesiastics, as well as by lords, gentlemen, citizens, and peasants. In short, show him that there is no age, sex, condition, or quality of persons who do not cry out with one voice and one will. Then, if he disregard your cry, all the world will declare him wrong, and support your right to oppose such iniquitous tyranny by every means in your power.

[1] "Car, tout ainsi qu' il est impossible qu' un chariot marche droit, ayant les roues mal et inégalement proportionnées, ainsi ne se peult-il faire qu' une confédération ne se rompre, quand il n' y a point une égalle obligation de tendre à un but commun et général."

[2] If the estates had no pillars they would not talk so loud.

"Finally, let him see that you are united to us, and that, moreover, you intend to throw yourselves into the arms of the ancient enemy of the House of Austria rather than to endure further insults.[1]

"Then what can he do? Separate twigs can be snapped in two easily, but no one is strong enough to break a fagot.[2] Even so, if you are firmly united, Spain and Italy together will not be sufficient to work you ill. See what Holland and Zealand have done in five years, and the natives who have held aloof, as Amsterdam and Utrecht, have wrought us more injury than our foreign foe. What is our handful of cities to all the Netherlands? . . . Everything is ready. A touchstone alone is needed,[3] and such a touchstone would be to sign a plain declaration of your rights. With the publication of such a declaration, friends would declare for you on every side. Now, the princes of Germany, the gentlemen of France, the Queen of England, and all other Christian potentates think you do not wish help, because you do not help yourselves. Do this, and the people will be a shield and buckler of their rights and will no longer ebb and flow like waves of the sea. Do this, and there will be no one who will not haste to your assistance and be faithful to the last drop of blood. Do this, and you will be an example to all free peoples and to all unjust oppressors of republics."

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[1] France. This is good evidence that the prince's foreign negotiations were not secret.

[2] At about this time a medal was struck in Holland, expressing this idea. On one side is a lion holding a sword and a bundle of arrows with the legend *Libertas concordia vindicata.*—*Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 100.

[3] "Il faut doncques avoir une pierre de touche."

The keynote of this letter, and of all the appeals he sent east, south, and west, was "L'union fait la force," the legend adopted by the Belgian kingdom when she separated from modern Holland in 1830. Iteration of a self-evident truth, backed by the general state of anarchy which the Spanish mutiny had induced in the land, bore fruit. The general assembly of the fifteen provinces agreed to allow deputies to confer with the delegates of Holland, Zealand, and the prince. Ghent was chosen as the seat of this conference, although the citadel was in the hands of the Spaniards.[1] On October 11th, letters of safe-conduct were sent to the patriot representatives by the council of state.[2] They were received at Ghent with joy by the deputies of the states-general,[3] and on October 19th the deliberations began. Among the nine delegates from the prince and the two united states were St. Aldegonde and the faithful Paul Buys. Elbertus Leoninus and three abbots were among the ten delegates from the fifteen provinces. Orange did not go to Ghent himself, but received daily reports of the proceedings at Middelburg.

The steps towards bridging over the chasm that had opened between the North and South were

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[1] Hoofd, x., 429 *et seq.* ; Bor., i., 719.

[2] "Den elfden van wynmaant, verleende de Raadt van Staate brieven van vrijgeleide." At the date when the delegates met at Ghent the states-general only consisted of representatives from Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault. Those from the other provinces came later.

[3] "Zy werden met vreuyde tot Gent ontfangen."—Hoofd, x., 430.

taken with the utmost caution. There was distrust on both sides, and each party was keenly alive to the danger of a covert attack on their religion. Two points in the negotiations are noteworthy. The Catholics showed a disposition to insist on the restoration of orthodox rites everywhere, even in Holland and Zealand, and recognised the Protestants very reluctantly when they made territorial restrictions; and Orange stipulated that when the articles were approved by the delegates, they should be confirmed by the provinces and the people. He lost no opportunity of trying to check the encroachments of corporations, municipalities, and the power of the aristocracy by a democratic balance. The opinion of Orange on the course he wished pursued is summed up as follows in a memorandum [1]:

(1) Let all points of difference be put aside, and all points of agreement strengthened by some form of union.

(2) The best means of arriving at such a union is to make a confederation or compromise between the provinces.

(3) To consult on some good and legitimate financial measures to furnish the sinews of war.

(4) In order to have means of providing the land with necessities, it will be needful to devise means of keeping passages open through which supplies can be introduced. As for example, to keep on good terms with Liege, so as to have free entry into

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 436. This paper bears no date. Groen thinks it was written at the beginning of October.

Germany, and to see what can be done about Friesland and Groningen, now in the power of the Spaniards.

(5) To examine immediately the state of present supplies in the land. It might be as well that all the wheat in Liege and the Walloon country should be stored in fortified cities, such as Tirlemont, Louvain, Diest, Mechlin.

(6) Supply ammunition, etc.

"And since Don John will soon come to proclaim himself chief of the Spaniards, and declare null and void all that has been done by the council of state, it will be necessary to forestall him, to take the bull by the horns, and to ratify all acts of the said council, and then to lodge all authority in a general council composed of certain distinguished lords and gentlemen."

It was now well known in the Netherlands that Philip had appointed Don John, his young half-brother, to succeed Requesens. In October, rumours were afloat that this new governor was on his way to the Netherlands, without flourish of trumpets. Orange saw clearly that the proposed confederation must be pressed forward as quickly as possible. If nothing were crystallised by pledges, the faint-hearted could draw back when there was again a personal representative of their sovereign among them. If, however, an alliance between the hitherto loyal provinces and declared rebels were signed, sealed, and consolidated, self-defence would require all participants to uphold their work.

Among the prince's instructions to his deputies there is the following[1] of October 26th:

"I would have liked, for greater assurance, that Dunkerque and Eccloo had been delivered to us, both for the convenience of the harbours, which are better in the said places than at Nieuwport, and also, to tell the truth, the said city of Nieuwport is in nowise fortified, and, situated as it were in open country, it can not be counted as a seaport. All which makes me urge you to insist as well as you can on getting Eccloo and Dunkerque, so that I could be nearer Ghent. You will be in a better position to do this, as the estates assembled at Brussels have again written to the four members of Flanders, that for the welfare of the country they wish an accord with us as soon as possible. Nevertheless, if you can not get any other place than Nieuwport, see that there is a provision that we shall be perfectly free to fortify it within and without, and even *sur la teste* and elsewhere, as seems best for our safety."

Two days later, Orange wrote[2] again to urge haste in concluding the confederation, and on the following day again, to express his fear that the negotiations are not being carried on in perfect sincerity: "If they act with more delay than is necessary, it is enough to make us suspect that we are not treated *à la Flamande*, but *à l'Italienne* and *à l'Espagnolle*."

During the peaceable parleying at Ghent, the Spanish mutineers were pursuing their unpeaceable way. On October 20th, Maestricht fell into their hands and suffered as horribly as though it had been

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 464.

[2] *Ibid.*, 467.

captured in regular warfare.[1] Antwerp was the next place on which interest was centred. It was one of the richest cities in Europe, and the soldiers looked forward to its plunder. The strong citadel was in the hands of the regular Spanish troops who had not allied themselves with the mutineers. Sancho d'Avila was in command, and his authority was backed by Julian Romero, and de Roda, the late member of the council of state. This latter considered himself the embodiment of the king's authority until the arrival of the new governor, and was naturally far more inclined for an alliance with the mutineers than with the united Netherlanders. The city itself was under Champagny, Granvelle's brother, and its defence was a body of German troops under Colonel van Ende and Count Oberstein. The former was quite ready to join the mutiny, and the latter was drawn into a plot for so doing by treachery.[2] It became evident at Brussels that Antwerp was seriously menaced, and the Marquis of Havré, brother to the Duke of Aerschot, led a force of Walloons and Germans to the rescue. In his train were de Hèze and Philip, son of Count Egmont, besides a number of other young and reckless nobles.[3]

Champagny was a staunch Catholic, but he was also a sturdy Netherlander and had evinced his willingness to fraternise with the Protestants, if a coalition could be made against the Spaniards whom he hated bitterly, and he had already opened a friendly

[1] Hoofd, x., 429.

[2] Motley, iii., 98; Hoofd, x., 430 *et seq.*

[3] Bor, i., 722.

correspondence with the prince. When the troops arrived from Brussels, he hesitated at admitting so large a foreign body within the city walls. It was impossible just then to gauge the temper of any soldiers accurately, but the Antwerp burghers hailed the marquis as a deliverer from the threatening citadel, and insisted on the admission of his men. On November 2d,[1] accordingly, with Champagny's reluctant consent, de Havré marched in. He brought with him a bundle of intercepted letters between d'Avila, the commander of the citadel, and the mutineer leaders in various parts of the country. No doubt was left of the treachery and manifest intention of the Spanish leaders to betray the people to the army. A desperate effort was made to erect some kind of a fortification to oppose the castle, but the new troops were ill disciplined, and the main work was accomplished by the volunteer efforts of the burghers, though, finally, nearly everything was intrusted to Champagny and to his personal servants. By daybreak it was evident that there had been an accession of troops in the citadel. At 10 o'clock another troop of 2000 mutineers from Alost, were seen arriving there. The smell of blood and the prospect of plunder had filled them with a Berseker rage. They had easily made the twenty-four miles between Alost and Antwerp since three o'clock of that November morning. Scornfully rejecting Avila's offer of refreshments, with the statement that they would have a good supper in Antwerp, or in another

[1] Hoofd, x., 432.

world, they were ready to rush on,[1] and in an hour the whole force, armed to the teeth, issued from the citadel, delaying a moment to offer fervent prayers to the Virgin, and leaving hardly a man on guard, so confident were they of complete success.

Champagny, meanwhile, ordered the captains to draw up all the available troops in the Horse-market, to which were added all citizens capable of bearing arms, and the governor, unwearied from his night's work, rode along the line with cheering words. The first onslaught of the Spaniards revealed the utter weakness of the bulwark. It crumbled like dust before the veterans' charge. In the mêlée the mutineers' leader, the so-called *Eletto*, was slain, but the fury of the onslaught did not slacken. The Walloon soldiers lost heart and fell back, and the Germans were unable to reanimate their courage. Champagny put himself at the head of a small troop and tried to rally the broken ranks, but it was useless. Broken courage cannot be easily mended, and the retreat, once begun, went on in full disarray. Then Champagny—who showed himself of good metal that day[2]—galloped through the streets and called on the citizens to defend their homes. They did indeed fight, tooth and nail, but it was useless; the Spaniards were in the city and panic was rife. The Germans died hard, but die they had to, and the tangled mob of fugitives and conquerors, Spaniards,

[1] Maar hun antwoordt was (een zeldtzaame fierheit) zy wilden't laaten deurstan, op een goedt aavondmaal, te houden in d'andre weerelt oft binnen Antwerpen. Hoofd, x., 435.

[2] *Ibid.*

Walloons, Germans, and burghers, struggling, shouting, striking, cursing, praying, and dying, swayed hither and thither like a stormy sea.[1]

Champagny held on bravely till he saw the game was entirely up, and then succeeded in escaping to the fleet of the Prince of Orange.[2] Havré did likewise, but Oberstein was weighed down by the weight of his armour and was drowned. The carnage that followed was horrible and brutal beyond measure. All those still resisting were butchered or shoved back into the Scheldt. Women, children, and old men were killed ruthlessly in countless numbers, the whole tale of the dead being reported as 8000. The thirst for gold grew as it was slaked, and life was nothing compared to coin. A wild fury raged, and the massacre stands out from its fellows as the Spanish Fury. Antwerp was long in recovering from that day.[3] Contrary to the usages of war, the foreign merchants were spared no more than the Flemings.

The numbers of the slain are variously given, but, undoubtedly, more were massacred than at St. Bartholomew, while the Spanish loss was limited to a few hundred,—two hundred being the largest number mentioned by any authority. Wild indignation was felt through the land at this result of the reputable Spanish leaders again coalescing with the

[1] Hoofd, x., 436.

[2] Nov. 4th, Groen, *Archives*, v., 484.

[3] The establishment of an English merchant house at Hamburg has already been mentioned. From this date on, Hamburg commerce flourished.

outlawed mutineers. The estates of Brabant addressed an appeal to the states-general urging immediate action:

"It is notorious that Antwerp was but yesterday the first and principal ornament of all Europe, the refuge of all the nations of the world, the nurse of all arts and industries; . . . the protector of the Roman Catholic religion, she was ever faithful and obedient to her sovereign prince and lord. The city is now changed to a gloomy cavern, filled with robbers and murderers, enemies to God, to the king, and to all good subjects."[1]

Then followed an appeal for redress, and a special recommendation that a general edict should be passed forbidding the exportation of goods in any form from Antwerp, together with the concession to the proprietors of the right of reclaiming their stolen property, summarily, whenever and wheresoever it might be found.

On November 8th,[2] the debating deputies at Ghent, spurred on by the blood-curdling Spanish Fury, brought their deliberations to a close, and signed twenty-five articles of confederation, which were known as the Pacification of Ghent. This was an immense triumph for the Prince of Orange. The treaty was a masterpiece of diplomacy. Prejudices

[1] Bor, i., 733.

[2] Op den achtsten daagh van slaghtmaant des jaars vyftienhondert zessen-zeventigh.—Hoofd, x., 443.

Evidently they reached a conclusion on October 28th, as is shown by a letter of November 1st, from the prince to Count John, but the document was not signed till November 8th.

were considered, non-essential points yielded or set aside, and the all-essential point of union to gain the strength lacked by the individual contractors was attained. Two important articles of the treaty were the third and fourth, providing that the inhabitants of both sections should have full liberty of going where they pleased for purposes of trade, etc., and that all placards on religion should be suspended until otherwise ordered by the states-general. There was to be a convocation of the states-general on the basis of the assembly before which Charles V. had abdicated, in which all points should be settled. The prince was to remain lieutenant, admiral, and general for his Majesty, in Holland, Zealand, and the associated places, until otherwise provided by the states-general. Cities and places in the prince's commission which did not acknowledge his authority should receive satisfaction from him as to religion, etc., before accepting the union. All prisoners, and Count de Buren by name, should be freed without ransom. All estates, not already alienated, should be returned, and all confiscations since 1566, declared null and void. The Countess Palatine, widow of Brederode, and Count de Buren, Orange's son, were expressly named in this provision. Prelates and ecclesiastics who had suffered confiscation in Holland and Zealand should be re-imbursed in all cases where the property could not be restored. The states-general might decide whether to assume the debt incurred by the prince in his two campaigns. Provinces and cities should not have the benefit of this union till they had

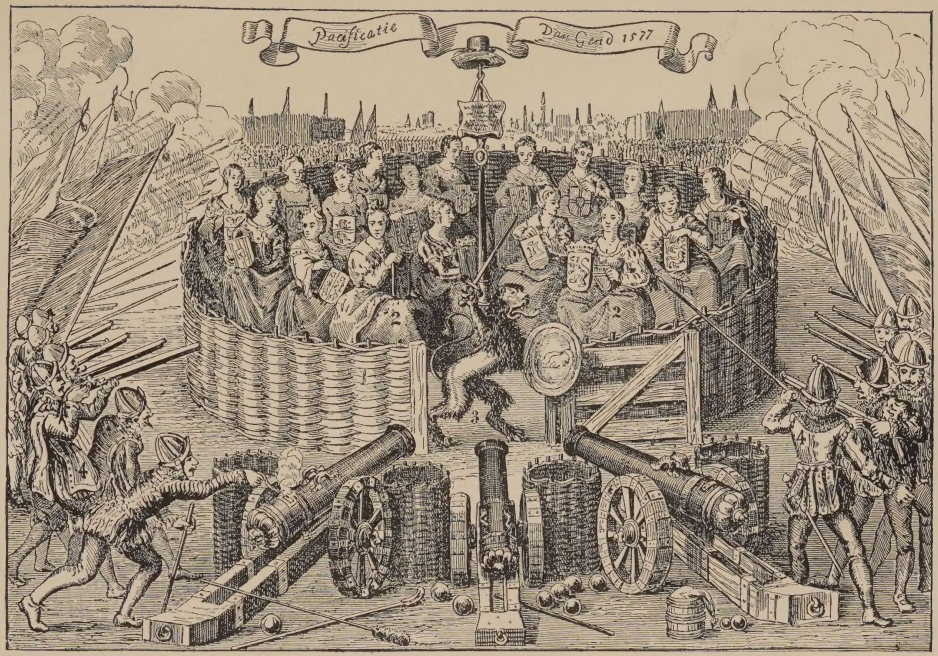
signed the treaty, but they might sign whenever they wished.

Aldegonde and eight other commissioners gave their signature in behalf of the prince and the two provinces as party of the one part, and Elbertus Leoninus, with deputies from Hainault, Valenciennes, Lille, Douay, Orchies, Namur, Tournay, Utrecht,[1] as parties of the second part. It was an advance in toleration for the fifteen provinces to ally themselves with heretics as such, and to consent, moreover, that that heresy should be hedged in with safeguards. The old imperial edicts were abolished. *Private* reformed worship was to be allowed in the Catholic provinces, and Catholic rites could not be forbidden in Holland and Zealand.

The announcement of the Pacification was received with universal joy throughout the provinces, as it seemed to promise freedom from the irksome Spanish yoke. Cannon were fired and bonfires lighted. In Holland and Zealand it was published with the following formula[2]:

"As God has wrought a union between the provinces, long separated by discord and the Spanish war, let it now be known to one and all, that a good, fast, and unbreakable peace is made between the states of the lands of Brabant, Artois, Flanders, Hainault, Valenciennes, Yssel, Douay, Orchies, Namur, Tournay, Utrecht, and Mechlin, in behalf of the same lands, cities, and villages therein, not being under the subjection or power of the

[1] Bor, i., 739.
[2] *Ibid.*, 741.



THE PACIFICATION OF GHENT, 1577. (Redrawn from a contemporaneous print.)
The provinces are shown safe within an enclosure symbolising the Pacification. The Belgian lion guards the entrance.

aforesaid Spaniards, on the one side, and my lord the Prince of Orange, with the states of Holland and Zealand on the other; all . . . of whom shall duly observe the stipulations therein contained. It is understood that this does not include Harlem, Amsterdam, Schoonhoven, Oudewater, and all other cities [1] of Holland in the possession of foreign garrisons. It is forbidden to have any trade or intercourse with such cities until they have come to an agreement with the states-general, and have fulfilled their obligations."

It was further decreed in another proclamation (issued at Delft, December 8, 1576) that all fugitives from the above cities to those which had accepted the Pacification, should be required to take the following oath [2]:

I swear to be true to the king, as Count of Holland, under the government of the Prince of Orange as lawful stadtholder, governor, and captain-general, as well as to the states-general of the same lands. I swear

(1) That I shall help to the utmost of my power to reinstate the above-named states and lands of Holland, and to drive the Spaniards not only from Holland, but from all the Netherland provinces. . . .

(2) That I shall obey all ordinances and political commands of the states-general, of his Excellency, and the states of Holland to the furtherance of common affairs, and be concerned in no secret plots to the injury of the state of Holland or of the prince.

(3) That I shall neither by word nor deed do anything against the reformed religion, at least in Holland

[1] Weesp, Muiden, and Naarden.

[2] Oath of December 8, 1576.

and Zealand . . . nor practise, nor introduce, any other religion into the land than what is permitted by the authorities and by the states . . . until otherwise ordered by the advice of the states-general lawfully convened.

(4) That I will uphold all the points of the treaty made on November 8th, at Ghent, by the states of Brabant, Flanders, and other provinces of the Netherlands with his Excellency and the states of Holland and Zealand.

So help me God and His holy writ.

The Prince of Orange objected to burdening every new-comer with so heavy an oath, and thought it was enough for both sides to promise to keep the treaty. But the resolution was carried by the states.

Thus the whole united strength of the seventeen provinces was now free to drive the Spanish army from the soil, even if they retained a Spaniard's rule. This was really the work of the man who had not personally assisted at the deliberations of Ghent. Without him the thing would have been impossible.

This appearance of unanimity among the divided Netherlands[1] led to one important result immediately. Mondragon, who was holding Zierikzee, was deserted by his troops, and the whole island of Schouwen, except Tholen, was retaken by Hohenlohe. On November 1st, in a letter[2] to Count John, the prince says:

[1] On Christmas Day, 1576, the University of Louvain approved this treaty and declared that it did not endanger the Roman Catholic religion.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 470.

"Our deputies, who have spent a fortnight at Ghent, have wrought so well that, by the grace of God, peace was concluded between us and the other provinces, the 28th of last month. The items have not yet been sent me. I expect them hourly and will let you know all . . . The Spaniards still hold some fortified places and are trying to get possession of Antwerp, which God forbid, for that would mean complete ruin to the city. We shall have plenty of work to clear the land, but I hope when it is seen that the country is united, and the soldiers are gone that the game will soon be thrown up." [1]

During the progress of these events, Orange had not let French negotiations drop. He dispatched letters to Anjou, to Henry of Navarre, and to various nobles of high degree. Though all of Charlotte's family had not been pleased with her marriage, the prince had succeeded in establishing affectionate relations with her only brother, François. Charlotte, too, exerted herself in this matter. On October 10th, she wrote [2] as affectionate a letter to her brother as sixteenth-century epistolary style permitted, wishing that she could show him her little daughter, of whom M. de la Beosse will give him good accounts.

[1] In the *Apology* (p. 120 *et seq*), the prince speaks very bitterly of the difficulties he encountered in making this treaty. "En ce temps, messieurs, fust traictée et conclue la Pacification de Gand avecq une si grande joie et contentement du peuple,—qu'il n'est mémoire d'homme qui puisse se souvenir d'une pareille. Un chacun se peult souvenir des promesses mutuelles d'amitié, etc. Mais quoi? Ceus mesmes qui ont bien faict depuis cognoistre quelle estoit la malice invétérée de leur cœur . . . en la traictant jettoient à la traverse tous les empeschmens à eus possibles pour la faire mourir en herbe."

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 422.

"For the rest, monsieur will tell you the state of the land; at present there is a new treaty of peace with the estates and other Catholic seigniors of Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, from which we expect a good issue. The prince, your brother, has already sent some companies to aid Ghent against the Spaniards, who, having taken possession of several places, give considerable trouble, so that it is very necessary for us to be united to resist Spanish oppression more effectually. We, privately, are more hopeful than we have been before because we keep gaining something on the enemy, as M. de la Beosse will tell you at length."

Among the letters from Germany at this epoch is the following, from the prince's eldest daughter Marie.[1] It is written when affairs began to look more hopeful, but before the Pacification was formed:

"MONSIEUR, MY WELL LOVED FATHER: On the 12th I received your letter that you were kind enough to write me. I was, I assure you, very happy to have news of you and to hear that you and madame were well. . . . As to my uncle and aunt, I do not know what to tell you, except that they are in good health and we are all here with Count Albert, hunting, where we have shot a goodly number of stags. I only wish Monsieur were here, so that you[2] might have a little pastime, for I am sure you have none, only a great deal of business and annoyance [*rompement de teste*], which grieves me whenever I think of it, but I hope by the grace of God that

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 428.

[2] Marie changes continually from the formal third to the second person.

He will soon deliver you as I pray Him from the bottom of my heart.

"I am also glad to hear from your letter that affairs go better in Brabant. I hope this improvement will continue and that God may soon grant a good firm peace, which I heartily wish, so as to see monsieur and madame one day in quiet and repose. Moreover, as monsieur has also written me about our steward and others who have charge of my brother Maurice, telling me to give them what seems proper, I do not know just what to do. I am afraid of giving too much or too little. I wish you had told me exactly how much, but as you did not I will ask my uncle what he thinks I should give and will act in accordance with his advice. It will not be money thrown away, for certainly the steward takes great pains, and as far as I hear Maurice is behaving very well. I hope all will continue thus.

"Your very humble and very obedient daughter until death.

"MARIE OF NASSAU.

"From Otweiller in Welterich.
"Oct. 15, 1576.

"My sister Anne begs me to give her humble respects. She would have written too, but it was impossible, as she is suffering from a severe headache."

The old Countess Juliana, too, did not lose her interest in the progress of Netherland events, with her advancing age. She often took advantage of John's messengers to send a loving message to her eldest son, whom she addressed respectfully as "High-born prince, heart-dearest sir," though in the midst of her formal phrases a tender expression sometimes creeps

in. In a note of October 26th,[1] she congratulates him on the brighter outlook, and says she will not burden him with lengthy letters, but ventures to inform him of an interesting family event in the household of her daughter Juliana, wife of Count Albert Schwarzburg, "to whom I am going in a few days." Thus in the midst of absorbing state affairs, with their fluctuations of hope and fear, there come these little glimpses of home life.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 449.

CHAPTER XXV.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA AND THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

1576–1577.

WHILE the northern territories under Philip's sovereignty, were taking their own precautions to preserve themselves from a state of anarchy and confusion, that monarch was slowly coming to the point of executing the scheme of government upon which he had really resolved within two months after the death of Requesens. In the spring of 1576, he had appointed his half-brother, Don John of Austria, Lieutenant-General and Governor of the Netherlands.[1] This youngest and most brilliant child of

[1] "Aldus standen de saken der Nederlanden in desen tijde als men, terstand na het maken van dese pacificatie, quam te verstaen en te vernemen dat de Conink van Spangien in der haeste en te poste, secretelijk Don Johan d'Austria zijne bastaert broeder . . . na het Nederland voor Gouverneur-Generael gesonden hadde." Bor [ii., 742] says further, that Don John went to see the king eat in Paris, out of pure curiosity, and Charles thought he was Gonzaga's servant. See also Gachard, *Cor. de Philippe II.*, v., 51 *et al.*

Charles V. was born in 1545, at Ratisbon, his mother being one Barbara Blomberg, a peasant of low birth. The boy was taken to Spain in his infancy and brought up secretly by Louis Quixada, a member of the imperial household. In his twelfth year he was publicly acknowledged by Philip as the emperor's son, and completed his education with his two nephews, Alexander Farnese and Don Carlos.[1] In appearance he did not in the least resemble the illustrious side of his house, being one of the handsomest youths ever known in Europe. Philip destined him for the Church, but this prospect did not suit Don John's daring, adventurous, and chivalric spirit. He actually succeeded in braving his royal brother's will and in following his own desires. Probably the singular personal fascination which he exercised towards young and old aided him in winning the king to his way of thinking,[2] and Philip allowed him to assume a helmet instead of a cowl, and entrusted him with the command of an expedition against the Moors in Granada, when he was but twenty-three years of age. Brilliant success crowned this maiden venture, although, unfortunately, the victory was stained by terrible cruelty.

Meantime the Turks fell on Venice and threatened the safety of all Italy. Don John was dispatched to

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[1] His relations with the royal heir were not harmonious. In a boyish dispute Don John said contemptuously that he had a better father than Don Carlos, a remark which Philip never forgave.

[2] In comparing him to Alexander Farnese, Strada (i., p. 615) says: "Longe anteibat Austriacus et corporis habitudine et morum suavite. , , , Eminebat in adolescente comitas, industria, probitas."

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.
(From an old engraving.)

repulse them and gained a naval battle in the bay of Lepanto, as much by luck as by skill. Europe was in constant trepidation lest the Turkish empire should be extended, and the news of this check to their advances was received everywhere with extravagant joy. The fact that nearly as many Christians as Moslems were numbered among the dead was not taken into account. It was a famous victory and the young hero was almost idolised for his achievement.

Philip was not altogether pleased with the adoration lavished on his protégé, and he quickly recalled him, lest the laurels of success might give more glory to the youngest son of Charles V. than the golden crown to his eldest.

The youth was full of all kinds of romantic schemes. Among other adventurous plans, he dreamed of rescuing Mary, Queen of Scots, from her English prison, marrying her, and then proclaiming her Queen of United Britain, with himself as king-consort. In the autumn of 1576, he was in Italy. The above scheme was running in his head when he was informed of his appointment to the governorship of the Netherlands, and this seemed a step in the direction of accomplishing his desires. He hastened joyfully back to Spain for orders, and then proceeded on his journey, in a manner rather befitting the romantic Richard Cœur de Lion, than a sober regent of modern times. He disguised himself as a Moor, and his whole escort consisted of a devoted friend, Ottavio Gonzaga, six men-at-arms, and a courier. The leader of the band, in his counterfeit present-

ment of dusky color, posed as Gonzaga's servant. They stopped one night in Paris, where Don John had an interview with Guise, and discussed his marriage with Mary Stuart. It is said that he contrived to attend a ball at the Louvre, where he saw Margaret of Valois, and straightway fell a victim to her charms.

On November 2d, six days before the signatures were given to the Pacification of Ghent, he arrived at Luxemburg,[1] within the confines of the territory confided to his jurisdiction. Here he washed off his disfiguring dye, and appeared in his fair-skinned, blue-eyed, and fair-haired beauty.

How the floating rumours of his appointment, which preceded his arrival, induced Orange to urge forward the completion of the treaty, has been related. It was evident that Philip had no further intention of fighting with Alva's methods, and the very fact that Don John was thought to be coming as a mediator, made Orange more eager to form a union while the new regent was still an unknown quantity.

The prince was but twelve years older than this brilliant young man, who seemed the very personification of the youth that Orange had left behind him. William of Nassau was, to be sure, only forty-three years old, but, as he portrayed himself, he was already *calvus et calvinista*, an old man before his time.

The government at Brussels sent a greeting to

[1] He had ridden 1500 miles in eight days.—*Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 169.

Don John. At the same time there was some attempt to persuade Orange to come to the capital, and publicly take the helm, which his hand was, in reality, directing from a distance. He was unwilling to do this until an invitation was extended to him by the states-general. He did not wish to put full faith in his allies until they had shown what was to be their policy towards the Spaniards. In answer to St. Aldegonde's entreaty that he should go to Brussels, he wrote [1]:

"Monsieur de St. Aldegonde:

"Since your departure, I have received letters from M. de Bersele, M. de Liesfelt, and from Théron . . . They all think it requisite for me to come to Brussels, judging that my presence would go far towards putting affairs in good train . . . I wish nothing more than the welfare of the country and of the estates . . . but the present situation is ambiguous, and some of those who have leanings rather in favour of the Spanish party than of the country, are trying by all kinds of underhand methods to cause dissensions in the said estates, and those would be the very people to find something to bite at in my presence in Brussels, both on account of our religious differences, and of other things. I began to write out my reasons to M. de Liesfelt, but having changed my mind, think it better to send you the beginning of the letter. You two can then consult with other good friends, and send me your opinion before I resolve on the journey.[2] . . .

"I have seen the letter which the states-general sent

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 532.

[2] There are many erasures in this letter.

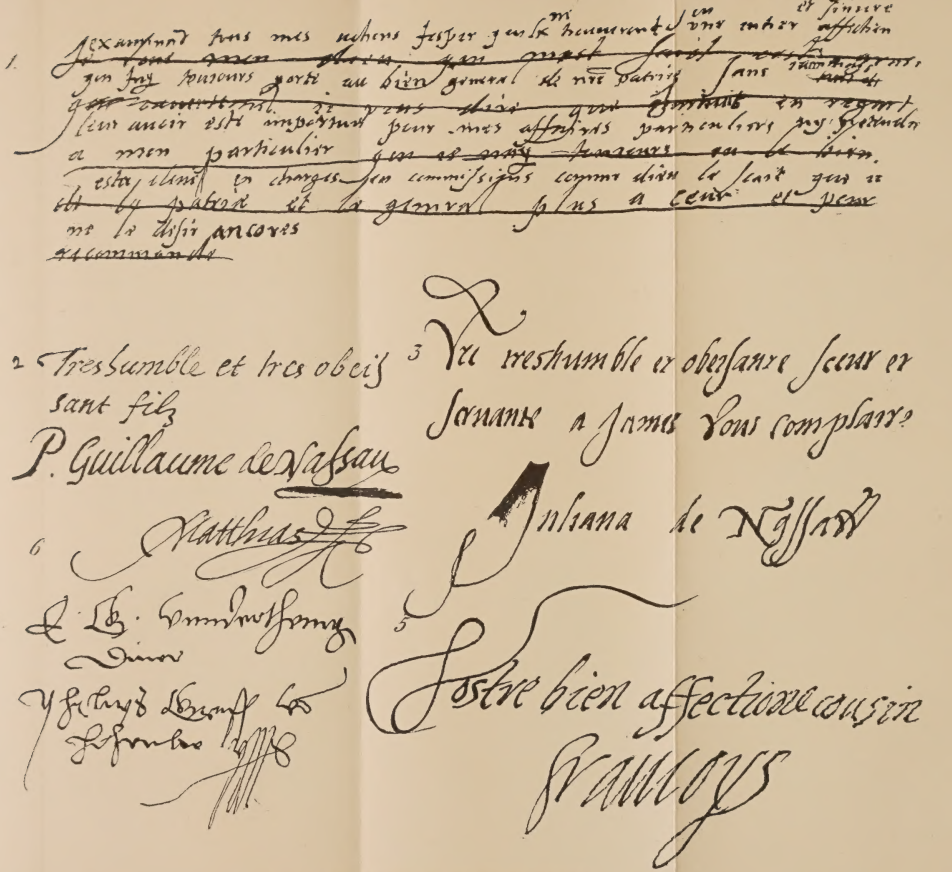
to Don John by M. de Rassenghien, and consider it very inadequate. I preferred the draft M. de Liesfelt sent me. Ask him to show that to you. It would be well to warn these lords and estates that, notwithstanding the treaty which may be a fact with Don John, they would be wise to make provision for self-defence while they have leisure, so as to be safe if the king take the offensive. . . . On the other hand, as I constantly fear lest the other estates may, at the instigation of ill wishers, separate themselves from the states of Brabant, or even from the Brussels citizens, it might be a good scheme to depute some of their own burghers to discuss matters with all the most friendly cities, so that if any demand be made, the actions may be unanimous, otherwise there may be some hitch in the proceedings. If you see that they insist on my coming, try to make it a general movement, participated in both by all the estates and the council of state.

"November 23, 1576."

The prince delayed in showing himself in Brussels, but before the date of this letter he had sent some of his own troops thither, and thus, in a manner, was preparing for his entry. One Oliver van den Tempel, thus reports the arrival of Orange's soldiers in the capital[1]:

"MONSEIGNEUR: We entered the city on the 22d instant, with ten ensigns, much against the wish of the Duke of Aerschot, but with the hearty consent of M. de Hèze and of the people, who began to riot and to say that they would force an entry. We have followed the

[1] Groen, *Archives*, v., 540.



FAC-SIMILES OF LETTERS AND AUTOGRAPHS.

(1) Letter of Orange to Marnix with his erasures. Signatures: (2) Philip William, Count of Buren. (3) Juliana of Nassau. (4) Philip, Count of Hohenlohoe. (5) Duke of Anjou. (6) Archduke Matthias.

advice of M. de. St. Aldegonde, and as there were no quarters ready for us on our arrival, I lodged with three companies in the palace[1] of your Excellency. The eleven remaining companies sent by your Excellency, are lodged in the faubourgs and neighbouring villages. I will not mention any news, trusting to the diligence of M. de St. Aldegonde.

"It seems to me, though, that things will not go on very well, on account of the lack of concord between the nobles, unless some remedy be applied by your Excellency, for whom every one cries and sighs.[2] The arrival of Don John has wrought us much ill. I venture to beg your Excellency to send friendly messages from me to the commanders of the regiments in Holland. As they are not all together, I cannot have my eye everywhere at once, and have enough to do with the companies your Excellency placed in my charge.

"From Brussels, November 23, 1576.

"Your Excellency's very humble and
"obedient servant,
"OLIVER VAN DEN TEMPEL."

Towards the end of November, the states sent a formal deputation to Luxemburg. There was a long, stormy parley with Don John as to terms. Strada[3] asserts that an unofficial suggestion was made, that if the regent-elect would assume the government in his own name and renounce allegiance to his brother, he might count on adequate support. Whether this

[1] This had been confiscated for eight years. I have been unable to find any particulars concerning its use during that time.

[2] "Vostre Exc. après laquelle tout le monde crie et sospire."

[3] Strada, I., viii., 17; Wagenaar, X., xxvii., 237.

idea emanated from Orange is not proven. This figure-head of authority with the states-general in control, would undoubtedly have suited him.[1] Don John, however, indignantly put aside the suggestion, and the negotiations proceeded.

On December 6th, the deputies presented the conditions on which they were willing to accept their new governor.[2] They demanded the immediate removal of the Spanish troops, the maintenance of the Pacification of Ghent, a general act of amnesty, and the convocation of the states-general, on the basis of the assembly before which Charles V. had abdicated.[3] Further, they required an oath from Don John to maintain the charters, privileges, and customs of the provinces. If he would comply with all these stipulations he should be forthwith acknowledged as governor, and the Catholic religion and Philip's

[1] That was one scheme. Orange went further and proposed that the states should possess themselves of Don John's person, and hold him prisoner until Philip had complied with all their demands.—Groen, *Archives*, v., 494.

The birth of Charlotte's children had revived her anxieties about the legality of her marriage. On December 2d, her husband sent the faithful and untiring Taffin to Dillenburg, to urge upon John the necessity of giving him *all* the documents relating to Anne of Saxony. Charlotte enclosed a pleasant little note to her brother-in-law, in the prince's dispatches.—*Ibid.*, 594.

[2] These were substantially what Orange had reiterated in letters of November 9th, 10th, 14th, and in many other private notes to various people.

[3] It was acknowledged that the present states-general was an irregular body. The ancient privileges of the land had never implied that the assemblies might come together at the call of the people. A summons was required from the ruler; it was only expected that such summons should be given from time to time.

authority should be maintained. On their side, the estates offered to renounce foreign leagues, disband their foreign mercenaries, and provide a body of native Netherlanders as a guard of honour to their new regent.

Much discussion ensued over these rather high-handed propositions. Don John was greatly influenced, on his part, by reasons which were not brought to the fore. From the moment of his appointment he had been fired by a desire to use his present office to further his scheme of rescuing Mary Queen of Scots. He was perfectly willing to withdraw the Spanish troops from the Netherlands, because he wished to make a sudden descent on England, with them at his back. To accomplish this with the secrecy necessary to ensure success, it was important that the army should set sail from a Flemish port, with Spain as an ostensible destination. It would thus be possible to take Elizabeth completely by surprise. Therefore, in replying to the demands of the deputies, he at once acceded to the withdrawal of the troops, but insisted that the Spaniards should return home by sea.

He urged the point so strenuously that the estates, to whom at first the route was a matter of indifference, grew suspicious and became equally strenuous on the departure of all the soldiery, Germans and Spaniards alike, by land.[1] Don John could not give his true reasons for wishing the sea passage. He could only reiterate that it was not convenient to

[1] Hoofd, xi., 452.

travel by land when frost and snow blocked up the mountain passes, and the pest was lying in wait for tourists.[1] The estates held firm for their demands, and, though chafing at the restraint in which he was held, Don John yielded point after point. On December 8th, the Marquis of Havré wrote to Aerschot[2] that his Highness was the best intentioned person in the world, was acting with frankness and integrity, and cordially desired to see the country restored to its ancient splendour.

The deputies seemed at times inclined to yield to Don John,[3] and when, on December 20th, some Brussels citizens began to urge that Orange should be officially invited to Brussels to give his opinion on the negotiations, and especially on the point of the states-general going to Namur,[4] it was resolved "by a plurality of votes, that no invitation be extended

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[1] "Maar 't was te spaade in't jaar, om te lande te gaan, mits de vorst en sneeueval in't geberghte, 't gebrek van lyftoght in Savoy."—Hoofd, xi., 452.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 567.

[3] On December 3d, Wilson wrote to Lord Burleigh that all Christendom had their eyes fixed on Don John, Alençon, and the Prince of Orange: "If the commissioners agree not, it is thought verilie he [Orange] will come in person, and then the trial will be between us there and the Prynce for the best game without hope of peace or any accorde at all. And surelie if the Prynce with the states, had readie money, it is lyke some greate exploit would sertainlie be done. And no doubt the prince is a rare man of greate authoritie, universalie beloved, verie wise in all things and voyd of pretence, and that which is worthie of special prayse, he is not dismayed with any losse or adversitie."—*Rel. Politiques*, ix., 69.

[4] Groen, *Archives*, v., 567.

to the prince until they had Don John's final decision."[1]

Before that result was reached, however, the negotiations were almost broken off on several occasions. Don John became exasperated at what he termed the insolent demands of the states, and they lost all patience with him. There is no doubt that Orange exerted himself to foment this distrust. In the end of January, the citizens' party in Brussels tried to insist that the states-general should say roundly that unless Don John would accept all their conditions four days from January 23d, they would appeal to the Prince of Orange.[2] Havré, Lalain, de Hèze, and other radical nobles were at the head of this agitation, and sent Henry de Bloyere to Orange to inform

[1] December 22d, a quorum of the states-general went to Namur in a body. They expected to meet Don John, but he did not appear. "If his Highness refuse to come to Namur, let him go whither he will," said the ever loyal Aerschot, even he yielding to exasperation. See Gachard, *Cor. de Philippe* II., v., 650.

Lettenhove says that deputies from Holland and Zealand arrived in Brussels on December 25th, and formed an assembly with the members of the states-general who had not gone to Namur, and insisted on the return of the latter. After this, greater stiffness was manifested towards Don John, who wrote to Philip on January 8th: "In truth these cursed spirits have no other purpose than to prevent peace."—*Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 267.

In December, two intercepted letters said to have been written by Philip II. to Roda were shown in Brussels. In these a very different plan of treating the country was announced than that proposed in the treaty. A greater distrust of Don John was the immediate result. Lettenhove thinks these were concocted by Orange. He says: "À ceux qui hesitaient à ajouter foi aux perfidies des Espagnols, il aimait à dire, 'N'avez vous pas vu leurs lettres?'" See above.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 189.

him of this resolution. On the following day they wrote again, urging him to come to Brussels. Aerschot, now president of the council of state, and his orthodox royalist party took alarm at this movement and exerted themselves to smooth over affairs with Don John. The conferences were continued at Huy, between the deputies of the states and the governor-elect, and though the discussion waxed so hot that Don John once seized a candlestick to throw at Sweveghem's head,[1] they concluded the peace on January 30th.

On February 7th, the states-general wrote to Orange to inform him of the details of the articles and of their intention to accept them, as they were "unwilling to take a resolution without communicating with your Excellency." He did not answer definitely, though several other communications passed between Brussels and Middelburg on other subjects.[2] On February 12th, Don John performed his part by signing the articles at Marche-en-Famene. On February 16th the states wrote [3] again to Orange:

"Finding ourselves in this perplexity, and having received no opinion from your Excellency; finally, conquered by many very urgent reasons, among which the fact that there is nothing in the said treaty prejudicial to your Excellency, but on the contrary, that there are conditions distinctly to your advantage in respect to your son, the Count of Buren, the Pacification of Ghent, and the retreat of the Spaniards, and as a longer delay

[1] *Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 307.
[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 204.
[3] *Ibid.*, 212.

in signing this treaty could not ensue without great danger to this country, and without risk of our losing an excellent opportunity and thus blemishing our reputation, we see no reason to defer giving our signatures beyond this evening, in the hopes of a response from your Excellency."

A postscript on the morrow says that they delayed until noon of February 17th. No message came, and the treaty of Marche-en-Famene, called the Perpetual Edict, was signed by the deputies of the fifteen provinces.[1]

In this document far more was conceded than had been anticipated by the most sanguine. The Pacification of Ghent was approved and ratified, as the new regent had been assured, both by prelates and by those learned in the law, that it contained nothing detrimental to ecclesiastical or royal authority. The soldiers were to depart "freely and frankly by land," never to return except in case of foreign war, the Spaniards to set forth in forty days, and the Germans, as soon as they had received their pay.[2] All prisoners on both sides were to be released, except the Count of Buren, who was to be detained until his father should have fulfilled conditions to be resolved upon by the estates. Maintenance of all privileges, charters, and constitutions was promised, as well as that of the Catholic religion. Don John was to be received as governor-general immediately

[1] Gachard, *Cor. de Philippe II.*, v., 679 *et al.* On the 17th, that ephemeral accord was signed, to which was given the incongruous name of the Perpetual Edict. Groen, *Archives*, v., 626.

[2] *Ibid.*, 626 *et seq.*

after the departure of all Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians. The states-general should be duly convened. In return for all these mighty concessions forced from Philip's representatives, the estates made but one important promise. They undertook to furnish the funds needed to pay off the soldiers.

Not content with their previous explanation, the states-general sent Sweveghem [1] and Meetkerk to the prince with further details in regard to their motives in accepting the peace. After a statement of the conditions, the commissioners assured Orange that the states were on their guard against Spanish wiles, and that they meant to insist that Don John should send the document to Spain to be ratified by his brother's signature. Orange replied to this message in behalf of Holland and Zealand, as well as in his own name, on February 19th.[2] He recognised the good intentions of the estates, but thinks that their zeal is misplaced. They should not have been content with old privileges, but should have seized the opportunity for demanding new ones. The stipulations in regard to the convention of the states-general were not adequate; they should not have permitted any further detention of his son, and the failure to mention both the King of France and the Queen of England was unsuitable.[3] They should

[1] This gentleman was directed to proceed to England, after seeing the prince. Instructions, etc. Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 218.

[2] *Ibid.*, 222.

[3] The Emperor Maximilian had died October 12, 1576. He was a great loss to the prince, although he had been too over-cautious in his actions to give him steady countenance. It was as though he tried to wash himself without wetting his skin. [MS. quoted by

have insisted on the restitution of certain places in Burgundy and the Franche-Comté. He concludes with the advice that a definite day should be fixed for the departure of the Spaniards, and that, if they had not evacuated the land at that time, the negotiations and the truce should be considered as ended, and arms resumed. At the same time Orange promised to sign the edict, if certain conditions were fulfilled.

On March 6th, the prince sent M. Mansard to Brussels, to urge that several further stipulations should be made before Don John was acknowledged as governor. The point upon which he laid the greatest stress was the demolition of the citadels,[1] whose very existence he considered a menace to the land.

Orange announced[2] this event to John as follows:

"Monsieur my Brother: As I commissioned M. Taffin to write you full particulars of affairs here, and to send you the duplicate of the treaty made a week ago with Don John of Austria, I will not make a long story, for you will understand it all from his letters. I will only say that I have received your last letters, and the copy

Groen, *Archives*, v., 425.] His successor, Rudolph II., was a zealous Catholic, and far less friendly to Orange than his father had been. His emissaries had been present at Marche-en-Famene, and had urged forward an accommodation between the estates and Don John.

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 257; Groen, *Archives*, v., 580. After careful examination of all letters and documents relative to these negotiations, it is evident that the prince's real objection to the treaty was, that he did not wish any composition with Don John, and that he placed absolutely no trust in any promises made by the Spaniards.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 632, Feb. 24th.

you enclosed of a friend's letter to you, together with the answer you made him. I thought the said answer very well put, and excellently suited to the times and present affairs, having touched all to the quick; for it is greatly to be feared that if the Spaniards again enter into the government, the future subjection of the country will be greater than the past. I thank you for the pains you continually take for the good of affairs. They are urging forward the said peace in which the emperor's ambassadors have aided, but I do not know whether this will be to the advantage of their country and of their master, who was frustrated[1] in his hope of gaining anything for the said country. I hope we can soon discuss things together, if I can only be happy enough to have you here."

During the parleyings with Don John, two important events had happened. On Jan. 9th, the Union of Brussels was formed.[2] This was a coalition something like the famous Compromise of 1566, having for its aim the expulsion of the Spaniards, but it further promised the execution of the Ghent Treaty, maintenance of the Catholic religion, and defence of all the constitutions of the Netherlands. The first sig-

[1] This phrase in the prince's letter is not quite clear: "lequel demeure maintenant assez frustré de l'espoir qu'il pouvoir avoir de parvenir cy-après audit pays." Groen, *Archives*, 632; Hoofd, xi., 457.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, v., 589. Groen says the opinion was long current that Holland and Zealand took no part in this union. But an original copy was found by M. de Jonge, bearing the signatures of deputies from those two provinces. It was understood that this action boded no ill to the exercise of Protestantism within those provinces: "'t poinct van de Religie . . . wesende gereserveert totte vergaderinghe van de Generale Staten."—*Rés. des États-Gén.*

A certain Agylaeus said of this union, *Disunio* potius quam *Unio* nuncupari merito debuit.—Groen, *ibid.*

natures[1] were those of the Abbé of St. Gertrude, Lalain, Bossu, Champagny, and four other prominent men. The idea was to show that the movement against the Spaniards was popular and universal, and to force Don John into acceding to the demands of the estates. The document was passed around through the provinces, and received signatures everywhere except in Luxemburg. The paper differed from the Compromise in being officially sent by the council of state to each province. When the signatures were obtained, one copy was sent to Brussels, while a duplicate was kept in the provincial archives. The signatures were given freely and comprised nobles, ecclesiastics, and citizens. The Pacification had been in the nature of a treaty between the North and the South. This union was a popular and individual ratification of the action of the united provinces.[2] It was six weeks after the promulgation of this union that the Perpetual Edict was signed.

Another important event had been a revolution in Friesland, Groningen, and their dependencies. The king's stadtholder, De Billy, was ejected, and the estates appointed Baron de Ville, Hoogstraaten's brother, in his stead. The Union of Brussels was

[1] Lettenhove (*Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 294) states that this document was signed by the council of state and the "three orders." (Groen, *Archives*, v., 590) describes the paper as receiving personal signatures, in which Motley (iii., 152) follows him. The statements are not necessarily contradictory however. It was also stated that the undersigned were not responsible for the arrest of the council of state in September, 1576.

[2] On the day after the promulgation of this union the states of Holland raised the pension of the prince to 40,000 florins.

eagerly accepted, and signed all through this region.

Don John was accepted, but he plainly saw that without Orange's support nothing could be done. The story of his negotiation with the arch rebel against his royal brother's authority, is an odd one. On March 16th, he wrote[1] to the king: "He [Orange] is the pilot who is guiding this bark, and he alone can lose, or save it. The greatest obstacle would be abolished if we could gain him over." Don John first proposed to ask the prince to resign all his offices to the Count of Buren, and to retire to Germany. Philip agreed to this arrangement, but after a closer view Don John saw that it would not be accepted. William of Nassau was too deeply involved in and attached to, the cause of his adopted country. While Don John was still at Louvain, he determined to make personal efforts to win over the man the country delighted to honour, and on March 8th, dispatched that same Leoninus who had treated with Orange before, to see what he could do. He was directed to point out to Orange what a vast service he could do the king, if he would only support him now. Fulfilment of all engagements was promised. Leoninus was further ordered to tell the prince, that he should receive not only a gracious pardon for all his past faults, but that the future of his House should be assured. "He really ought to resolve, not only to maintain the peace for which every one panted, but to re-establish the Catholic religion and the king's authority in Holland and Zealand."

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., li. *et seq.*

The prince distrusted Don John, perhaps beyond his deserts, as the sincerity of his overtures is proved by his letter of March 16th to Philip.[1] After mentioning to that monarch that his name was as much despised in the Netherlands, as that of the prince was loved and feared, he proceeded:

"I am negotiating with the prince, and mean to give him all sureties, for I see that the establishment of the peace, as well as the maintenance of the Catholic religion and the obedience due your Majesty in these provinces depend *entirely on him*, and that things are come to such a pass that we must make a virtue of necessity.[2] If he lend an ear to my propositions it will only be on conditions very advantageous for him, but it will be necessary to take this course or to lose everything."

Orange, however, did not lend his ear as readily as was hoped. Leoninus spent four days at Middelburg, was received pleasantly by the prince, who expressed his high appreciation of the honour done him. The envoy dined and supped several times at Orange's table, and "had his fill of good cheer, but of promises he got none." The prince said he could not forget the fate of Egmont and Horn, and the manner in which the Duchess of Parma had kept the pledges made to the confederates, nor the conduct of the King of France toward Coligny. He had been warned from Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, that it was decided to make war on him as well as on Holland and

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., liii.

[2] "Las cosas han llegado à terminos que es fuerza hazer de la necessidad, virtud."

Zealand. He knew that a papal nuncio had arrived in the Netherlands to conclude a league against them. Leoninus assured Orange that Don John was not a bit like his predecessors, and that the instances of breach of faith he mentioned were not at all parallel to the present state of affairs.[1]

Still Orange remained cold, and would only say that he must lay the whole matter before the estates of Holland and Zealand, as otherwise he would expose himself to the suspicion of having behaved treacherously towards them. His final word was, that he had no hope of coming to an understanding, but that Leoninus might appear at Dordrecht when the estates met there and make his statement.

Don John had not in the least expected such a result from the mission, but still he was not disposed to relinquish his scheme. It seemed to him incredible that the prince would not finally yield. It was only that he had not been properly approached. They must try it again. The best thing would be to meet him face to face.

"This is not the time for us to be particular, or to stick at points of etiquette; we must try to re-establish the state by every possible means, for our true authority, our true reputation, consists in preserving it, and I know of no other way to prevent its ruin than to win over this man who has such a hold on the people."[2]

At about the time of the failure of this mission,

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., lx. *et seq.*

[2] "Y yo ninguna remedio veo para que aqui no se pierda, sino es reducir à este hombre que tanto parte tiene en los demás."

Don John determined to go farther into the land of his government. He advanced to Louvain, escorted by eighty halberdiers, and was received in state by the burghers. His game was to show how different he was from Alva. His imperial father had been popular and he meant to be equally so.[1] He exerted himself to the utmost, and won all hearts by his liberality and kindness towards all sorts and conditions of men. He bestowed a dignity here, a pension there, and fair words everywhere. He even appeared in person at the banquet of the guilds, haunted the shooting clubs[2] and took part in their social life, bore himself, in short, as a good comrade towards the high and the low, and thus knitted to himself many simple hearts. He also met the bowmen on their own ground so successfully that he outshot them all, and was proclaimed king of the cross-bowmen before he was acknowledged as governor of the land.

In spite of Orange's belief that there was no intention of sending off the foreign soldiery, preparations went on rapidly to that end. The states, indeed, found difficulty in raising the sum necessary to pay off the arrears, but Don John lent them cash out of his own pocket for the purpose. The thing was really accomplished with wonderful celerity, considering all. In March, the Spaniards evacuated Antwerp and the city of Lierre. On April 7th, Philip ratified the Perpetual Edict,[3] and at the end of April

[1] Hoofd, xi., 462.

[2] "Hanterde de t'zaamenkomst der schutteryen."

[3] Hoofd, xii., 464–468.

the Spanish troops set off and marched straight ahead till they reached Lombardy.[1] They had not left in good humour, feeling that their pay had not been equivalent to their services. Don John wrote again and again to Philip to urge him to make fitting presents to the captains, Romero, Avila, Valdez, Montesdocca, Verdugo, and Mondragon, who had all been his devoted servants.

The states-general had promised to receive Don John as governor, as soon as the land was rid of the incubus of the Spaniards. There was no further ostensible excuse for delay, and on May 1st he made his triumphant entry into Brussels. No pains were

[1] According to Bor (i., 806), Don John advanced 27,000 crowns to aid the states in paying off the soldiers. On their part they sent Sweveghem to Elizabeth, asking her to help them with 300,000 angels. She consented to loan 40,000 angels for eight months, if they would be obedient to Philip and accept the religion he judged proper for them. This loan arrived in the nick of time (tanquam Jupiter ex machinæ); 20,000 were sent in bullion, and the rest followed soon after.—Letter of Sweveghem to Walsingham, January 19, 1577.

Froude (xi., ch. xxv.) claims that Elizabeth's credit was so high, owing to her economical measures, that she could borrow money in any bourse at 5 per cent. Mary had often paid 16 per cent., and Philip could get no loans at all.

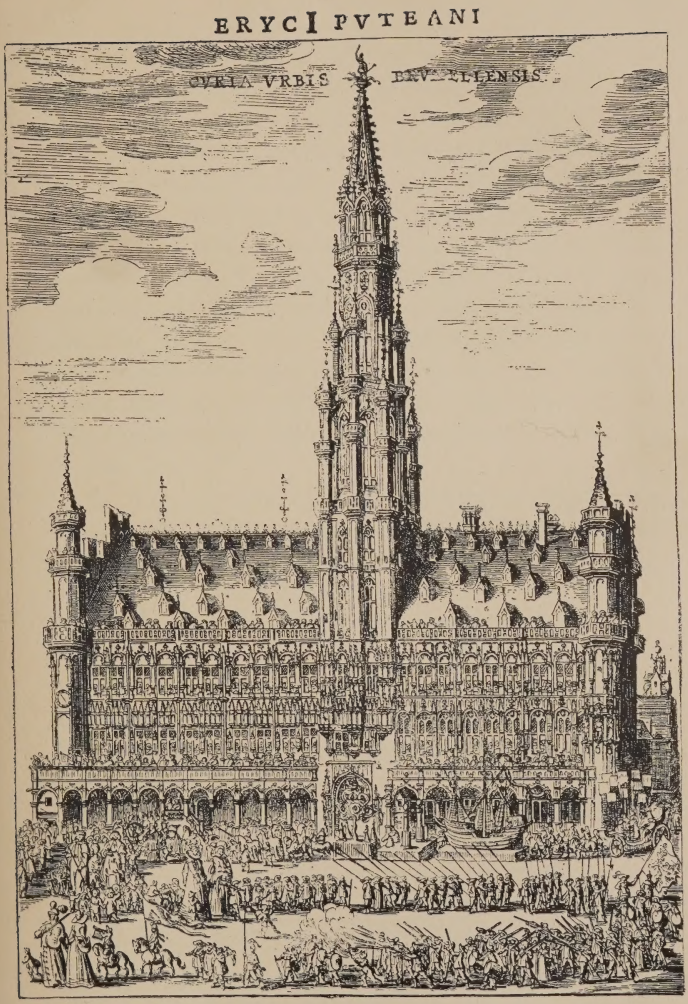
Bor (i., 807) gives the following couplet, which was perpetrated at the time of the troops' departure:

> Boetica gens abiit; cur ploras Belgica? dicam
> *A* quod in *O* non est litera versa queror.

Hoofd (xii., 468) renders this in Dutch:

> De Spanjaarts zyn nu dooR: Wat schreit ghy Neerlandsch zaat?
> Ich kerm, om dat, in stee van d'R. de T. niet staat.

> Forth are the Spaniards *l*ed. Tears, Belgium, can it be?
> I weep because, alas, that *L* is not a *D*[ea].



THE HÔTEL DE VILLE IN BRUSSELS.
(Based on an old print.)

spared to make this a brilliant occasion, and as the folk of Brabant were skilled artists in scenic effects, it was, undoubtedly, a very gorgeous festival. There were a succession of triumphal arches, through which the procession wound. A wagon decked with gold-cloth and drawn by a pair of white steeds led the way. This was laden with the fruits of the earth, a proud burden. There was also a mountain of broken weapons; all this to show what was to be expected from the peace. The windows were filled with wives and daughters, young and old, gentle and burgher, all in brave array. Flowers and wreaths thrown by these greeted the comer—a charming rain from such lovely clouds.[1]

As Don John rode into the Brabantine capital, the Bishop of Liege was on one side, and the papal ambassador on the other, while 3000 persons followed in his train. Suitable emblems on all sides testified the zeal of the Brabanters in honouring the hero of Lepanto, whom they acknowledged as their ruler, after letting him cool his heels so long at their door. Three days later Don John took the oath of office at the town house, and the Spanish monarch was himself again.

Meanwhile, Orange remained quietly at Middelburg. As they had not signed the Perpetual Edict, Holland, Zealand, and the prince took no part in the May festivals. Not that Orange was ignored, however.[2] He was in constant and close correspondence

[1] Hoofd, xii., 471; Groen (*Archives*, vi., 82) gives May 2d.

[2] See letters of February 19th, 20th, 24th, 25th; March 12th, 18th, 24th, 30th; April 3d, 6th; Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 265 *et seq.*

with the states-general and the council of state. No point of general interest escaped him, though there was infinite adjustment of detail to be done in his own governments, entirely by his own hand. The strain told heavily on him, as may be seen by the following letter[1]:

"WELL-BORN, FRIENDLY, DEAR BROTHER: I do not wish to hide from you at the present opportunity, that on the 19th instant I was attacked by a severe tertian fever, and have been obliged to stay in bed for the most part since. I feel some relief now, thank God, and hope that the Almighty will soon send recovery. Pray pardon me that I cannot now enter on a certain subject, owing to my physical condition, but I will write about it soon. You say you are going to send your son to Geneva, but, though it would be an opportunity for Maurice, on the whole, I prefer his remaining at Heidelberg, in Doctor Eheim's care. I have written to him to have patience and to keep him for a time."

John answers this letter on May 26th.[2] He has decided not to let his youngest boy and his wards go to Geneva, on account of the great expense, but is going to let them stay at Siegen with their tutor, and he thinks Maurice might as well be with them, instead of at Heidelberg. Orange has asked to have his eldest daughter, Marie, sent to him. John writes:

"I shall be very sorry to do this, but will help in it if you wish. Only, if your Grace thinks that she is any

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 81.
[2] *Ibid.*, 89.

burden[1] to me I should be very sorry, and would beg your Grace to let her stay with us as long as possible, though if you really want to have her with you and your wife, of course I will not oppose it. Besides, being no trouble to me and my housewife, and it being a pleasure to us to have her, I should be sorry to see her go, except for urgent reasons, on account of my lady mother. My mother is really failing visibly,[2] grows feeble, and if she is alone, becomes very melancholy and depressed. It is a great boon to her to have your Grace's daughter, my niece, here, as she can spend the greater part of the day with her, and is very helpful with reading and writing, besides being able to dress her, give out the medicines, preserves, and such things. Her Excellency will indeed be very sorry if she has to lose my niece and sit all alone, as she said she would have to do after the death of my daughter Anna, who was very devoted to her. My housewife has so much to do with the children and the housekeeping, that she can only be with her a short part of the day.

"Dated Dillenburg in haste.
"May 26th."

International correspondence of this year is a tangled web with the threads inextricably involved. Before the Union of Ghent, Orange had opened negotiations with Elizabeth, as has been related.[3] Her

[1] Surely never did younger brother more graciously accept heavy burdens than John.

[2] Yet this same failing spirit could write on April 4th, to her eldest born, that ardently as she desired peace, it was not a peace which would leave pious Christians in sorrow.

[3] "Below the outward unanimity [after May 2d] a thousand counter currents were already seething and eddying."—Froude, *History of England*, xi., 77.

capricious behaviour had confirmed his belief that no effective help was to be expected from her. Yet an exchange of letters continued between them, the show of confidence varied as the channel winds.[1] When the states-general opened negotiations on their behalf, again she neither said them yea nor nay, and when she lent them money on terms favourable to herself, she assured her brother of Spain that she did so wholly in his interest.[2]

In France, meanwhile, Alençon fluttered between the weakened Huguenot party, and his brother, on uncertain wing; and what were the sentiments of that faction, headed by the Guises, was unequivocally declared by the formation of the Holy League in 1576. This was an association in which Catholic princes, lords, and gentlemen bound themselves to "re-establish the law of God and the Apostolic Roman Church."[3]

This seemed to promise little help to struggling Protestants, from France, yet that was the source to which Orange looked.

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[1] Charlotte's second daughter was christened Elizabeth, and Philip Sydney stood godfather by proxy.

[2] See Froude, xi., chap. xxv.

[3] They also pledged themselves to restore the ancient privileges of the land, and to support the king and the House of Valois, thus excluding the Bourbons from the succession.—Groen, *Archives*, v., 441.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GERTRUIDENBERG AND NAMUR.

1577.

IN the midst of all the brave welcome given him by his new subjects, Don John did not feel himself at ease. His descriptions of the Netherlanders in his home letters are not as complimentary to them, as were the gracious phrases that fell from his mouth. He wrote that he was in a Babylon of disgust, a hell, surrounded by drunkards, wine skins, and the like. His heart had never been in the office he had joyfully accepted as a means to a private end, and no sooner was he installed in it than he began to beseech his brother to remove him.[1] Why not appoint Margaret of Parma again or some other woman. This was no place for a warrior.

As soon as his authority was recognised, the governor determined to make one more effort to seal an

[1] One thing that had increased the difficulties of Don John's position had been Philip's delay in giving him any positive instructions.

alliance with Orange.[1] In mid-May a commission, consisting of Aerschot, Hierges, Willerval, Meetkerk, and Doctor Gaill,[2] Philip's ambassador, went to Gertruidenberg "to confer with the Prince of Orange and his councillors." There is in existence a detailed report of the discussions which took place on this occasion, possibly written by St. Aldegonde. The substance is as follows.[3]

Meetkerk opened the conference with a long eulogy on Don John. His intentions had been generous, open-hearted, and simple. Now he would be much gratified if the Prince would do his part and persuade Holland and Zealand to accept the Perpetual Edict.[4]

[1] "There is greate workynge at this present to wynne the Prynce of Orange, whose case is better than either Kynge Philippe's or the French Kynges, because he is founde faithful, constante, godlie, and most resolute for the defense of publike welfare and libertie."—Wilson to Leicester, May 18th, *Rel. Politiques*, xi., 600.

"Don John here followeth his delite, rydeth his horses in the daie tyme and masketh in the nyght, geaveth audience easelie to al and applieth himselfe greatelie to the states' wil. His chief care is to wynne the Prynce to hym and to have the peoples' favor here, whiche he hath gotte marvellously."

[2] Elbertus Leoninus, who had succeeded to the post of Viglius, and Gaspar Schetz also assisted at the meeting, but they were already in Gertruidenberg as emissaries from the states-general to Orange.

[3] "Une vraye narration des propos de costé et d'aultre tenuz entre les députez de don Jehan et monseigneur le prince et députez d'Hollande et Zeelande à Gheertrudenberghe, au mois de May, 1577." This is in the Paris Archives. *MS. intitulé Pays-Bas*, 1569–83, fol. 229–236. Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 447 *et seq.* Also Bor, i., 815.

[4] In Don John's instructions to his envoys, having recounted the necessity for peace, he says: "Pour ceste cause, veuillans faire office de père de la patrie, et pour acquict du lieu et charge que tenons de sa Majesté, nous a semblé convenir vous envoier vers ledict prince

When Meetkerk finished speaking, the prince retired with the deputies of Holland and Zealand. After a short time he re-entered the room, and said he wished to have a scribe appointed to record the above and what was to follow. After there had been a little whispering, Leoninus took the floor and said it was far better to have no reporter present. What was the use of accumulating a pile of manuscript which would simply confuse them all? Why not talk freely? Orange put down his foot firmly. They could not avoid having some account written of the conference, and there was always danger of things creeping into an *ex post facto* report, which only might have been said, or points might be passed over which they had really discussed. For example, his own authority over Utrecht was now questioned, because an express statement about it had been omitted in the Treaty of Ghent.

Leoninus agreed to minutes of the meeting if the prince really cared about it. Then he asked the latter in a friendly manner to make known his reasons for dissatisfaction, and to state what sureties would content him. Monseigneur the prince responded: "But since the solemn promises of Ghent have not been kept, although confirmed by the oaths of all the states, etc., and ratified by Don John and his

d'Oranges et estatz susdicts pour leur déclairer vouloir considérer que Sa Majesté, et nous en son nom, avons réèlement et de faict satisfait à tout ce que a esté promis, etc." In the specific directions given regarding various items, the tenor is, promise that we will do all that is right and everything shall be arranged, but the prince must not make exorbitant demands, and the ecclesiastics must be protected.—Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 438.

Majesty, what hope is there for the fulfilment of further promises?"

Schetz and others answered that the fulfilment of the Ghent treaty was simply a question of time. Besides, the prince seemed to expect some things that they did not count as pledged, as the government of Utrecht for example. Orange said rather impatiently that there was nothing in the world so clear that no opportunity was left for dispute. He wanted the Ghent treaty intact, and in his opinion certain articles had been flagrantly violated. As soon as the states-general were assembled all points of fact could be settled. Leoninus felt a little doubtful about the advisability of that assembly. There was always danger in crowds, etc. This was a cool setting aside of a vital question, well calculated to rouse the ire of the mildest man. "In France," continued Leoninus, "all such assemblies result in profitless discussions." Orange said the cases were not parallel. France was full of factions. Here there was one will.[1] The discussion continued with much fervour. Schetz pressed the question as to whether Orange would abide by the decisions of the states-general on religion, if the Pacification were kept by "the other side." He answered in general terms.[2]

"So," said Schetz, "you will *not* accept the decision of the states?"

[1] This is a slight draft on the imagination.

[2] Motley thinks Orange was afraid of committing himself. He was especially afraid of being drawn into a conditional prohibition of the reformed religion in Holland and Zealand. Within a few weeks of this time the prince had insisted on the recognition of the Anabaptists as citizens. He had outgrown his prejudice against that sect. Aldegonde, on the other hand, was very reluctant to concede the point.

"I do not say that,"[1] answered the prince; "it may be one that we can, it may be one that we cannot accept. But we must hear it discussed, and see clearly what concessions we may have to make."

There were further words about both parties keeping to the terms of the Pacification, then Schetz said: "You will not submit to the states' decision in regard to the exercise of religion?" "No, indeed," said the prince, "for to tell you the truth we see that you mean to extirpate us, and we do not want to be extirpated."[2] Both Aerschot and Hierges protested that they had no such sanguinary intention. So the discussion continued. Leoninus urged that they should be friendly and make a union, to which the prince replied that a union already existed and the first essential was to keep that. He finally grew weary of the parleying and withdrew, leaving the others to prolong the debate and to exchange the necessary documents. Aerschot and Hierges, meanwhile, had a private talk with Orange. Don John reported to the king[3] that the prince had advised his former

[1] "Je ne dis pas cela. mais telle pourroit-elle estre que nous l'accepterions, telle aussi que non."

[2] "Non certes, car pour vous dire la vérité, nous voyons que vous nous voulés extirper, et nous ne voulons estre extirpés. 'Ho' dict le duc d'Arschot, 'il n'y a personne qui veuille cela.' Ce qu'aussi dict le Sr. de Hierges. 'Si faict certes,' dict le prince."

[3] Letter of May 28th. "Dijo al duque, segun refiere, que, si no le daban luego Utrecht, él la tomaria, y añade que él le aconsejó que no se fiase de V. Md.; que se considerase con la cabeça a los piés, si lo hacia; que él jamas se fiaria, porque lo habia V. Md. engañado muchas veces; y refiere que tiene V. Md. por consejo que 'haereticis non est servanda fides'; que es ya calbo y cabanista y que en esto morirá.'—Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., lxiii.

colleagues to put no trust in Philip, "who never intended to keep faith with heretics." It was far more prudent, he said, to depend on the people, for the will of kings was ever ephemeral. As for himself he was a bald Calvinist and as such he would die. Later he had an interview with Schetz and Leoninus, who begged him to make peace, while he reproached them for trying to crush the struggling land back to slavery.

There was no result from this conference.[1] The final reply given to Don John's deputies was, that the Perpetual Edict differed radically from the Pacification of Ghent, which it professed to support; that the Prince of Orange and the reformed religion were not properly treated; that Don John clung to his foreigners, who held open a door for the entry of all kinds of evils; that the assembly of the states-general was left somewhat doubtful, and the restitution of confiscated property not assured. In point of fact the real desires of the two parties had not changed in the slightest degree. In spirit they were friendly because everyone saw the crying need of peace, but when it came to the essential question of freedom of worship and home government, it was plain that nothing important was to be yielded. Don John's emissaries returned to Brussels. Though the conference had failed, an outward show of good feeling between the chiefs continued for a time.

On May 24th, Orange wrote[2] an autograph letter to Don John, thanking him for his several communi-

[1] Bor, ii., 819.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 289.

WILLIAM THE SILENT.
(From a photograph of the painting at Delft.)

cations and especially for an epistle from his own hand. He is glad that his intentions are so kindly towards the provinces. The people have made clear their desires in the articles signed at Ghent. Let Don John see those properly executed and everyone would be satisfied, and he himself would remain Don John's "faithful and affectionate servant, William of Nassau." This letter, in spite of the friendly tone, voices the fact pretty plainly that Orange thanked the new governor kindly for his interest in the tranquillity of the Netherlands, but that he was quite capable of looking after his own concerns and those of Holland and Zealand, with which he was fully identified.[1] The letter is a masterpiece of polite distrust. In June, Schetz wrote to Orange

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iii., 297.

In this month Philip Sydney went to Brabant. "Yesterday" (writes Wilson on May 28th) "My Lord Ambassador, Monsieur Sydney, went from hence to Breda towards Gertrudenberge, where the Prynce is nowe and the Ladie his wife."—Brussels MS., *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 308.

Towards the end of May, Sydney made a full report of this visit. Orange has told him of all the parleying with Don John and his reasons for distrust. England would do well to make a secret league. Philip has never been really friendly towards Elizabeth. Six years ago he plotted two things, to make 'sharpe warre' in England and at the same time to become master of the Rhine by surprise of Elizabeth's true allies, the Hanse towns and German princes. "*In summa* the Prince understandethe verie well all the subtilities of Don John and providethe duly for them." He suggested "it were wisely done to enter into a league with the Hansteades, for that they could serve the Queene's torne better than many Princes in Germanie. . . He [the prince] woulde employe himself willinglie for her Majestie to the making of a farther amitie with them."—*Ibid.*, 309.

Orange had great confidence in an alliance founded on the needs of commerce.

begging him to divest himself of his lack of confidence towards Philip, and not to let a new rupture ensue, which would ruin the prospects of Orange and all his family. He also sends a memorandum about the estates of Charolais, which he proposed to the prince to exchange for his confiscated property in Burgundy. He says this is not very profitable at present, but will be later. To this Orange replies in the same terms he has hitherto used. He has no reason for believing in the king, unless the Pacification of Ghent is kept to the full.

"For the rest, I have looked at the memorandum about Charolais, and thank you warmly for the trouble you have taken. In reading the details I am reminded of a remark of Peressu, the fool of the late emperor, '*Poco menos honrra y mas provecho.*'[1] Moreover, it seems to me premature to make any disposition, as my Burgundy property is not yet returned to me, and there seems little prospect of immediate restitution. I would therefore prefer this matter to rest in abeyance, not only because I never reckon without my host, as the saying runs, but also because such a provisional arrangement might be to the detriment of other gentlemen who have property in Burgundy and no means of exchanging it either in Charolais or in France."

Don John had entered Brussels as the conquering hero comes. Discouraged as he had been from the beginning, these fruitless negotiations at Gertruidenberg deprived him of his last hope that he was to be a well-loved peacemaker. He exaggerated the univer-

[1] A little less honour and more profit.

sality of the prince's popularity, and felt that he was nowhere in the public estimation, though he was an honoured guest in the capital where William of Nassau had not set foot for eleven years. But the governor suspected that events there took the course directed by the patriot, and resented living under the shadow of the absent prince. On June 8th, Elizabeth's ambassador writes[1] from Brussels as follows:

"Truthe it is Don Jhon seeketh by al meanes to bee populare . . . and hath so wel caried hymselfe to al, that manie of the greatest, yea and most of the meaner sorte, are enchanted in his love, and highlie esteeme him above al others. Yet this moche must I thynke that he is thus apparentlie good for necessitie, because he cannot otherwyse brynge that to passe, whiche he hath in his mynde to doe, seemynge now to bee somewhat wearie of this his cunninge dealinge, because he is overmuch controwled by the States, nay almost commanded by them. . . . Moreover, the 9 nations of Bryssels here have verie latelie exhibited their byl by Monsieur Monteigny, Conte Lalan's brother, for the Spaniards and their adherents to be presentlie removed from the persone of Don Jhon, whiche hath greatelie trowbled his Highness. These persones are Escovedo, Nimo, Valiozo, Prado *et al.*, Spanyardes, Octavo Gonzaga of Mantua, M. Gasty, a Burgundian, late in England, and Baptista Taxis, brother to the postmaster of this town . . . because soche men as these are

[1] Dr. Wilson to Walsingham, June 8, 1577, *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 327. The spelling of these letters is wonderful. Even "John" appears in many forms.

thought to bee of his arrier counsel, and doe directe his dooinges to their harm here. The Prince also towcheth this request in his answer to the Duke of Arschot and commissioners sent with hym. . . .

"The Prince must of necessitie give hymselfe over to some greater personage than himselfe for his better strengthe, or els yeelde al to the Kynges mercie. . . . Somewhat must bee done, or els some wil bee undone. And in my symple judgement an ouverture made of part takynge, under the colour of peace makynge, would doe moche good and geave a terrour to the prowdest of them. Yea, soche a bolde dealinge would cawse others to joyne with us, that now stande as neuters, lookynge styl what wee wyl doe. Valiant workynge never wanted good fortune. . . . It is geaven out here that the Queen of Navarre cummeth shortlie to the Spawe, accompanied with the Duke de Nevers, Memorancie, Cardinal Bourbon, Cardinal Guyse, the Bysshope of Glasco. This cummynge hither of the doughter is like her mother's beeing at Bayon, whereupon folowed the massacre [St. Bartholemeu], so that I doe feare the like wyl bee agreed upon, or els a mischiefe for Englande by laing a plotte for a marriage by the Bysshoppe of Glascoe's advise and others, yon knowe with whome. . . .

"Don John himself myndeth to meete the Queen of Navarre at Valenciennes, and so brynge her to Mouns, where he myndeth to entertayne her with al the honour that may bee. And because the charges are like to bee greate, he hathe cawsed to be propounded to the States that they would defraye al the charges, whiche is not yet grawnted.

"The Spanyardes wer in Burgundie the 10th of Maie last, . . . and some feare that they have *animum revertendi*, and wante but occasion. Yea, some thynkes

yf Don Jhon colwde get clerlie awaye, he would rather bee in Luxembourge than in Bryssels, notwithstanding the greate brute that goeth of hym for his wel dooinge.

"Here is a greate want of money, and dyverse devises used to gette it . . . yea it is proposed that every man be assessed according to his degree, and by the pole."

Wilson encloses copies of documents relating to the negotiations between Orange and Don John; among them, "Don John's letters to the Prynce in Spanyshe and in frensh, and the wyse answers of the Prynce to Don Jhon."

Don John chafed under the restraint in which he was held, and his peace of mind was not increased by insinuations that he was in constant personal danger of assassination or abduction. That there was some reason for this apprehension is shown by the prince's letter to the estates, before quoted.[1] Finally he could endure Brussels no longer, and went to Mechlin on June 11th, after less than six weeks' residence in his appointed capital. His ostensible reason was that he wished to make arrangements for the evacuation of Antwerp by the German troops, and that the states would not allow him to risk his person in that city.[2] Here he brooded over the failure of all his schemes, and prepared for a change of policy. But at the same time he did not repulse other suggestions.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 141.

[2] His discontent was nursed by the Duke of Aerschot, who took pleasure in dwelling on the dangers that threatened him.—See Motley, iii., 222.

Dr. Wilson followed him to Mechlin, and wrote to Elizabeth [1] that he had called on Don John, who expressed a fervent desire to see the English queen.

"I towlde hym his wyshe was good . . . twoe noble natures meetinge together cowlde not but agree . . . Then somewhat to please hym for the tyme, I shewed him your Majestie's picture, whiche I had borrowed of Mr. Fowlke Greville . . . and suerlie, Madame, Don Jhon was moche pleased with the sight, and perused it verie curiouslie a good longe tyme, and asked me yf Your Majesty were not attired some tymes according to the spanyshe maner. . . . He sayde the spanyshe attire was the most cummelie, and then he desired earnestlie of me to have Your Majestie entier stature and makinge, and the sooner the better. . . "

Having arranged for Don John's own portrait, Wilson continues:

"He towlde me he is so enformed of Your Majestie that, if you wer in the companie of your ladies but in a blacke velvet frenshe gowne and a playne howde to the same, he might discerne you for the Queene, altho he had never seen your picture before. I towlde hym indeede God had donne moche for you, not onelie to cawle you to the place of a queene and so represente hymselfe, but also to geave you soche a shape fytte for any queene, and there withal a mynde endowed with soche several and famous vertues as therefore Your Majestie is had in admiration, and a chief spectacle to the whole worlde."

This was diplomatic correspondence exactly after the maiden queen's own heart!

[1] June 11th, *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 335.

Then another woman's figure came within the range of Don John's vision. Several times in the course of the Netherland troubles were the waters of the Spa used as a cloak for political designs. Margaret of Valois, the beautiful and fascinating wife of Henry of Navarre, who won all hearts but her husband's, felt the need of the spring's healing qualities, and chose this time to make a journey thither. Her purpose was really sisterly ambition, and her aim, to further her brother's prospects in the Netherlands.[1] Don John made elaborate preparations to receive the fair invalid, and sold off all his furniture and wine at Mechlin before setting out to speed the traveller on her way.[2]

Margaret spent a night at Mons, where she convinced both the governor, Count Lalain, and his wife

[1] Margaret's own version is, that she was unhappy at court when the French king was at war with her husband, whom her mother would not let her join. She was also anxious to see the poor people of Flanders rescued from Philip's cruel domination, and her brother Alençon installed as Governor of the Netherlands. Mondoucet suggested her journey to Alençon. "'Cela viendroit bien à propos pour vostre entreprise de Flandres, où elle pourroit frapper un grand coup.' Mon frère le trouva fort bon et fust fort aise de cette ouverture, et s'écria soudain, 'O royne ne cherchez plus, il faut que vous alliez aux eaux de Spa, où va madame la princesse de la Roche sur Yon. Je vous ay veu autrefois une érisipèle au bras; il faut que vous disiez que lors les médecins vous l'avoient ordonné, mais que la saison n'y estoit pas si propre.'"—*Mémoires de Marg. de Valois*, p. 86 *et seq.*

[2] On June 24th, Don John wrote to Philip: "I am looking for means to escape. It must be done within three or four days or I will be a prisoner, we are reduced so low." Again on July 9th: "Arrogance and insolence characterise everyone, from the council of state to the people. Several companies are approaching Mechlin to seize

that it would be a fine thing to restore Flanders to France, and left them to bring others to that way of thinking. Don John met her at a little distance from Namur, and escorted her and her retinue to the lodgings he had decorated for her visit with splendid tapestry representing the battle of Lepanto. Two days were spent in gay feasting, and then the queen floated down the Meuse towards Liege. Don John was enthralled by his fair guest and never suspected that the sole purpose of her visit was to corrupt his servants and undermine his authority. He, too, had had another thought beyond that of the hospitality he had so gallantly exercised. Scarcely had the royal barge floated out of sight than he rode off to begin the work which was completed July 24th.[1] Under pretence of a hunting party, the governor, preceded by Berlaymont and his four sons, entered the fortress of Namur, which towers so loftily on a high wedge-shaped hill, rising between the Meuse and the Sambre, and looking like the live rock. Soldiers were ordered to creep up the hill stealthily, and just as they reached the summit Don John arrested the castellan, Froymont, as he came out to welcome him, and then turned him summarily out-of-doors with

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me. . . . They regret not having put to death the council of state when they arrested them. If they take me, they will not spare me, and that will be the end of our affairs for ever."—*Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 416.

Don John felt that his later illegal measures were fully justified by these things.

[1] Daalyk naa't afscheit van haar, en eeven uit de schuyt ghetreeden, ging te paarde zitten om't werk te beginnen,—Hoofd, xii., 479; Bor, ii., 832; also *Mémoires de Marg. de Valois*, p. 114.

his garrison, consisting mainly of feeble old men. The newly arrived soldiers entered the fortress. "Then, turning to the Companie, Don John called that Day the first of his Government: for till then he had enjoyed nothing thereof but an airy title."[1]

On July 28th, Aldegonde wrote to John of Nassau from Brussels, giving news of this event, with rumours of Don John's further seizures[2]:

"Seven or eight days before the surprise of Namur, I was sent by the prince to the estates to communicate certain letters intercepted in France, by which their ill intentions are unmasked. Don John says there is no other remedy for this sick body except to cut off all that is spoiled, showing the king that mild medicine has profited nothing. Affairs can only be remedied with fire and sword, etc. In short, all the letters threaten the land with servitude and complete ruin. . . .

"The affairs of Holland go on in the usual manner. The Amsterdamers remain very opinionated and will not listen to reason. They expect to govern their governor, and in receiving the prince, want to be armed and have the city in full garrison. On the other hand, they wish to be nominally allied to Holland, but have nothing really in common except commerce. For they are determined not to share in burdens and taxes. . . . Certainly the cause of religion is marvellously hated everywhere, which makes my errand almost fruitless, for all my actions and advice are under suspicion, as they think that I only want to bring about a change of religion, and they seem to prefer to be ruined without us, than to be saved with us."

[1] Strada, i., ix., 35.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 113.

When Orange heard what had happened at Namur, he was ready to turn it to his advantage. The open breach with the governor was welcome to him. He wrote[1] at once, on August 2d, to the estates, defending himself from the aspersions cast on him by Don John, and pointed out that the manner in which Namur citadel had been taken was a flagrant breach of the peace, so that they owed nothing more to their governor.

Now that the gauntlet was thrown down, Don John wished to let no grass grow before he had strengthened his position. He had withdrawn Aerschot—who was distrusted on both sides—from Antwerp and placed the keys in the hands of Treslong, an unscrupulous royalist. He planned to send back to Antwerp the German mercenaries, with whom he had tampered, to prevent their accepting the estates' proposition to pay them off.[2] Van den Ende, who had played a part in the Antwerp Fury, was their leader, and Don John politely asked Antwerp to allow these troops to be quartered within the walls to protect the town. This game did not succeed, however. Such protection was not desired, and a nephew of Champagny, at the head of a small detachment of states troops, forced an engagement on these would-be protectors and put them to flight at considerable loss. At the same time an officer in the garrison of the citadel, one de Bours, undertook to carry it for the estates, and he succeeded beyond his expectations, only one company really holding out for

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 121.

[2] Hoofd, xii., 488 ; Bor, ii., 821 ; *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 446, *et al.*

Treslong. In the citadel he found a secret correspondence, which revealed the hollowness of the governor's protestations towards the estates. The fortress was safe but the poor city trembled, as there were still some German mercenaries within the walls. The burghers determined to satisfy all just claims of the German troops, and see them off for their native heath. The citizens' deputies were in the Place de Meir, where the colonels had collected their companies, parleying with gold in their hands,[1] when a new arrival suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. Admiral Haultain, in command of one of the prince's squadrons, had started on a new expedition against Tholen, when he heard the news. He changed his direction and sailed up the Scheldt. The cries of "*Die guesen, die guesen, daar zyn ze*" suddenly reached the ears of the troops. Without waiting to take what was their just due from the hands of the astonished burghers, the men fled hastily across the Scheldt, out into the open field. A portion of the fugitives reassembled at Bergen op Zoom, where they surrendered their colonel to Champagny and laid down their arms. As a body they were never formidable again. Another portion reached Breda, not yet restored to Orange. They held out there for two months. Frondsberg, the captain, sent a messenger to Don John for instructions. His answer promising aid within six weeks, was captured by the prince.[2] A letter was forged to the effect that Don John could

[1] Bor, ii., 854.

[2] *Ibid.*, 856; Hoofd, xii., 492.

not help them, and Frondsberg, the colonel, must do the best he could for himself. One William Sylvius, an Antwerp printer, counterfeited Don John's sign and seal. The captured messenger was bribed to deliver the false letter. He not only did this but spread its contents through the town. The garrisons rose upon their leader and surrendered him with the city and their own arms, to the estates. Thus for the first time since his departure in April, 1567, the Prince of Orange was free to return to his own city.[1]

Before the snow fell the prince's desire to see the citadel demolished was fulfilled. Men, women, and children worked eagerly at the task until not one stone was left upon another. Ghent followed suit, and it looked as though the Spanish foxes would find no holes wherein to hide their heads.

Meanwhile, Don John corresponded at length with the estates.[2] He had only taken a fortress because he was safe nowhere else. Orange had betrayed him. Assassination threatened him, etc. The estates on their side recounted their grievances at verbose length. At the same time they wrote to Philip asking for his mediation between them and his governor. If that failed they would like a new regent.

Orange had watched events with growing hope. The governor was tying himself in a knot from

[1] "Alzoo werd den Prinse zyn stadt, op den vierden van Wynmaandt, in handen gestelt, tot groote blydschap der Burgherye, die langen tydt naa haaren Heer verlangt had."

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 126.

which he could not escape. The prince wrote to the estates, as has been said, defending his own position and urging them to defend the people.[1] Just at this time he was in North Holland, where the reparation of the dykes had first called him.[2] He was received with acclamations and he judged it best to make the most of the enthusiasm, and go whither he was asked.[3] Utrecht especially begged

[1] Margaret of Navarre spent six weeks at Spa,—the usual time for a *cure*, and then was somewhat at a loss to know how to return safely under the new state of things. "Il y avoit trois partis, celuy des estatz, qu' estoient des catholiques de Flandre; celuy du prince d'Orange et des huguenots, quy n'estoient qu'un, et celuy d'Espaigne où commandoit don Juan." To obtain a passport from Orange, "I sent Mondoucet to him, as he was a friend to the prince and had a flavour of his religion. He did not return. I waited two or three days, and I believe that if I had waited for him I should be there now." She finally started off without a passport, and gained France after many adventures, related with much spirit in her diary.—*Mémoires de Marg. de Valois*, p. 116.

[2] Hoofd, xii., 490. Other business besides repairing the dykes followed Orange on this journey. "I came unto him [wrote Daniel Rogers to Leicester] as he was in North Holland, the 10th of this presente, where I found him marvelously occupied with busines, which were presented unto him by divers, which, from divers places and Estates were sent unto him; for at the same tyme, Nicolaus Drumesius, was sent by the Pope's Nuncio and Don Juan unto him; President Sasbout came from the Privy Council to accorde with the Prince, for them at Amsterdam; Basdorp was sent from Bruxelles from the Estates Generall, besides one of the Schoneberches, which came out of Germany with the Emperor's letters unto him, and three gentlemen whiche were sente from the Estates of Gelderlande to knowe his advise in certaine matters, in such manner that having further to provide for the state of his goverment, he had bothe his handes full."—*Rel. Politiques*, ix., 396.

[3] The common people greeted him with cries of "Father William has come,"

him to come there, though he had never been reinstated in the authority over the city which he claimed belonged to him. Hoping to make an adjustment in person, he accepted the invitation. As he was driving into the city with Charlotte by his side, a hard substance suddenly struck him. She threw herself upon her husband, shrieking "We are betrayed," thinking that he was shot at. Orange, with his usual quickness, perceived that it was nothing but a wad from one of the cannon which were saluting him. With the words, "It is nothing at all," he calmed the princess and the excited crowd, assuring them that not only was he unhurt, but that no one thought of hurting him. This was not the only accident on that day. Everyone crowded to their windows to see the prince's entry, and a little girl, nine years old, daughter of an apothecary, leaning forward was pushed or fell out in the excitement, striking the ground directly in front of the horses drawing the prince's carriage. It was too late to check them. The hoofs struck the little figure, killing the child instantly. Orange leaped from the carriage, picked up the little bruised body, and carried it himself to the parents, speaking words of consolation.[1] If these two incidents are true, and there is no reason for doubting their authenticity, they probably did more to win partisans for Orange than folios of his arguments could have done.

After this visit, Utrecht withdrew all opposition to the prince, and a short time afterwards a treaty of

[1] Hoofd, xii., 490; Bor. ii., 831.

satisfaction[1] was drawn up on the same basis as that accepted by Harlem and Amsterdam—a basis broad enough to support both religions with a nominal supremacy to the ancient Church.

In August, Orange wrote an autograph letter to Aldegonde[2] thanking him warmly for his efforts in public affairs, and especially for his endeavours to convince the estates that in all his actions the prince had been influenced by his zeal for the common welfare. He continues:

"As to my opinion on the governments[3] of Flanders, Guelderland and Antwerp, I will write to-morrow. . . . You know I am viscount of Antwerp . . . and it would therefore be reasonable that I should be preferred to any one else. But considering the times, I will let matters take their course, lest any block might be interposed to the razing of the castle, which, thank God, I hear is in train. Several citizens have spoken to me saying that these are their rights, but I begged them to make no manifestation, for the above reason. They also mentioned that before demolition was permitted, they were required to make certain promises, though I do not know what. If you could see the articles it would be a good plan.

"As to Flanders, I agree with you, but do not know what to say about Guelder, unless to suggest that the choice be left to the inhabitants. For if the estates

[1] See Bor, ii., 831, 893; Renon de France, ii., 178.

[2] It is without date, but was probably written towards the end of the month, as the demolition of the citadels began on August 28th.—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 138.

[3] The governments were being reconstructed as rapidly as possible.

place some one there and there is difficulty about his being accepted, it will only cause trouble in the region and alienate the people's good disposition, annoy and ill please the one chosen and engender pique among the lords, which should be avoided at any cost. I must tell you that a soldier was brought to me yesterday, who had been sent by Frondsberg[1] and his captains to Don John, with the enclosed letter. I interrogated him and he answered on each article as you will see by the enclosed paper. Although I do not believe it all, it is, nevertheless, neccessary that the estates make preparations to fortify highways on the Meuse and elsewhere, and begin to restore order among the soldiers, or else they will eat up the land and do no service. It would be good to cut off Don John from all provisions, especially wheat. Just now,one day is worth a month, for I see every indication that Don John is gathering all his forces, and that he means to make a second rash venture, as you will see by this letter that comes from Mme. de Bailleu—you may erase what is underlined to save the good lady annoyance."

Orange did indeed "consider the times" very closely, and was careful to make no suggestion that might check the course things were taking. The discovery of Don John's letters in the Antwerp citadel chilled the hearts of his would-be supporters, while the voluminous correspondence between him and the states did nothing to reanimate the flame of loyalty, which had apparently burnt so brightly in May.

From Namur citadel, the governor asserted his

[1] Commanding at Breda.

right to nominate delegates for a general assembly. He offered to choose the names from a list which might be sent him. The states replied that this had been demanded by none of the long line of rulers from whom he was illegitimately sprung. So the argument went on with mutual recriminations. The states felt themselves growing more powerful. The people's party, too, was waxing, and, under Orange's influence, was urging that more radical measures should be taken.

Marnix was in Brussels, from time to time, as the prince's representative. In August, he proposed a series of points to the states, according to instructions given him by Orange.[1] The gist of the argument was, something must be done quickly. Messengers should be sent to all the European powers to explain matters. These messengers need not be very expensive, as each prince to whom they are sent will probably help defray their expenses. Be energetic and show a determination to carry out a purpose to the end.

"The last point is, that the prince is advised that the Amsterdamers are meaning to send their deputies hither, *pour faire des bons varletz*, after they have heard from Antwerp. He wishes to warn you, as he does not trust them over much. It is almost incredible how many risings they have made since the news from Namur, as they really only desire the ruin of the country, and as the prince has written, if they knew how to drown and ruin the public in a spoonful of water they would do it. He es-

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 1.

pecially wished to warn you of this as Peter Peterson is one of those who persuaded Don John to do what he did. These are the four points that the prince desired me to present to you, and he wishes me to return as soon as possible."

In reply to this message, on August 27th, the estates sent one de Courteville, to the prince, who was again at Gertruidenberg.[1] Orange reiterates his opinion that for the ills they are suffering there is no remedy except war against the stranger, and union among themselves. He begs the estates to send commissioners to Zealand to treat with the merchants and arrange for free navigation between the provinces, urges the maintenance of the Ghent Pacification, etc. Especially he wishes that the states should negotiate with Elizabeth, provide themselves with the sinews of war, and take possession of various cities.

On August 30th, the council of war drew up a set of resolutions practically agreeing with the prince's wishes. They also made arrangements for levying troops, and affairs looked promising in spite of the anomalous condition of the government in a land divided against itself, with its accepted ruler shut up in a small fortress. The feeling of universal distrust that had prevailed during the summer in the provinces, is pictured by the following letter of Dr. Wilson to Elizabeth[2]:

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[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 6.

[2] *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 337. This was written in June, but the general tone holds true for August.

"My speeche tendeth to this ende that Your Majestie bee verie circumspecte how to trust, and *never to beleve wordes*, but the effecte of wordes, and so shal Your Majesty be the lesse deceaved. It is good to geave like measure, and he that speakes me fayre and loves me not, I will speake hym fayre and trust him not. *Cretisandum semper cum cretense.* And as the commune speache is, *fallere fallentem, non est fraus.*"

The writer goes on to describe "the playne ambassadour without sleight or cunnynge whom Don John doth marvellouslie esteeme especially in outwarde show, as he is cherysed agaynst the Prynce of Orange." Wilson then dwells at some length on the desire of the regent to have Elizabeth's friendship, and what plots there are to separate her from Orange.

"Suerlie I cannot bee perswaded with Your Majestie's favour that ever there wil bee fast and assured amitie emongest those prynces that are divided in religion. It is good to beare an eaven hand and to geave good countenance; but I can never thynke it good to trust them fullie and whollie, let them saie and doe what they wil. This is my belief, not to beleve, for as one sayde to me of late, that was a Papiste, *ubi non est eadem fide, ibi est nulla fides*, which I turned upon him agayne in defense of the trew reformed religion."

After mentioning the curious fact[1] that Don John was "much cherysing those who had been against

[1] This was written before the seizure of Namur.

the king, especially yf they bee men of any valew," he continues with his warning against wiles:

"This I write that Your Majestie may see the cunnynge of this worlde, and wel assured I am that the Prynce shal have in the ende whatsoever he will aske, but with what assurance after, God knoweth. *Veritas temporis est filia et ex præteritis futura sunt judicanda.*"

CHAPTER XXVII.

BRABANT REVISITED. AN ANXIOUS FAMILY.

1577–1578.

AS the prince saw his prospects brighten he became anxious to have his family with him. He had wished for his grown-up daughters ever since he had had his new household. Now he desired the presence of his brother, as he saw that the count could lend him substantial aid in the reconstruction of the governments.

In June, the prince asked his brother to send Marie and Maurice to the Netherlands.[1] The rapid march of events later, determined John to answer Orange in person, and at the end of August or the first of September the little party, augmented by Anne, the prince's second daughter, arrived at Gertruidenberg,[2] and were warmly received by Charlotte.[3]

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 100.

[2] Before this, John had been very busy in several negotiations. He was especially anxious to form a Protestant alliance with Queen Elizabeth at the head, and had corresponded diligently with Sydney. He suspected that Aldegonde was working against the German interest. August 21, 1577, Aldegonde wrote to him assuring him that this was not the case.—*Ibid.*, 96.

[3] That the princess was unfeignedly glad to see her step-daughters is shown by her later letters.

For nearly two years the prince had refused to listen to all the private suggestions he had received, to come to Brabant. He had no desire to make his way secretly into the province or its capital. He thought it better for his own dignity, and for that of Holland and Zealand, to stand firmly on his own ground. On September 6th, the states-general passed a formal resolution to invite the patriot leader to return to their midst.[1] The action did not express a unanimous feeling.[2] The ultra-Catholic, aristocratic party feared the result of this step, but they agreed to accept the inevitable and to attach themselves to the only man who showed himself a pillar of strength in a weak mass of uncertain people. Aerschot wrote lovingly to the prince, Champagny had shown that he was ready to be friendly, and de Hèze had been devoted to him from the time of their joint action in September, 1576.

A deputation, consisting of van der Linden, Abbé of Saint Gertrude, Champagny himself, and the indefatigable Elbertus Leoninus, went to Gertruidenberg, and, in the name of the states-general, formally invited the prince to go to Brussels immediately,

[1] Deputies from Holland and Zealand had sat in the states-general since August 19th.—Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., xxiv.; Bor., ii., 872; *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 509–516; Davison to Burleigh and Leicester; Renon de France, ii., 166; *Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 462.

[2] Burleigh to Elizabeth, September 15th; *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 515. An eye-witness writes, the prince "avait jà tant gaigné le peuple de quelle religion qu'il fût, que, si l'on ne se fût condescender à tant d'instances qu'il avoit fait pour le faire venir, il l'eût appelé de mauvaises graces."—*Relations des Évènements de 1577 and 1578, par un Contemporain; Archives de Lille.*

"as being of the council of state." In the preceding January[1] the prince had pledged himself to check all assaults on the Roman Catholic religion. In now giving their invitation, the states-general asked him to allow the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in all the cities delivered into his hand, as well as everywhere in Holland and Zealand where the Catholics wanted it. The prince's answer to this was skilfully conceived.[2] He expressed his deepest satisfaction that they had at last resolved to draw closer bonds between the provinces. He thanked them heartily for their good opinion of him and for the confidence they showed him. He wished nothing better than to revisit Brussels, and be again in the society of his friends in the place where he had spent his youth. But his duties towards Holland and Zealand, the obligation he felt to undertake nothing without their approval, rendered it necessary for him to await their consent. As to the delicate point of religion, he excused himself from meddling with it in Holland and Zealand, because legislation on ecclesiastical matters belonged exclusively to the provincial estates, but he promised formally that no attack should be made *against* Catholicism by Holland and Zealand, in the other provinces. He declared, moreover, that he could only act as the servant of the estates which he represented. In accordance with the Ghent treaty he would leave all regulations of religion to the decisions of the magistrates in the respective territories. That is, each province should

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., viii.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 155.

have home rule. The states of Holland and Zealand met at Gouda early in September, and after some discussion consented, though reluctantly, to the prince's Brabant journey, and shortly afterwards Orange went to Antwerp.

From the vantage ground of his retreat, Don John followed in detail all that happened in the Netherlands.[1] The news of this step taken by the estates filled him with rage. He felt that the visit must be prevented at all hazards. The estates had sent Gaspar Schetz and the Bishop of Bruges to Don John, on a mission of accommodation, and these gentlemen were with him when the news arrived. The governor's position was in truth critical. During the three and a half months that had elapsed since he had seized on Namur, he had heard no word from Philip. More than that, the monarch left his brother, not only without letters but without money, as Don John wrote[2] piteously: "*V. M. me deja estar tres meses y medio sin carta suya, sin dar órden en proveerme, siquiera para el sustento ordinario de mi casa.*"

Just at that crisis, the king had desired to avoid an open rupture with the estates. He did not approve the seizure of Namur and declined to send the troops back. According to his usual exasperating methods with his subordinates, he did not suggest a new course when he disapproved of their

[1] The states had gathered their troops into a camp between Brussels and Namur, and begged aid of Elizabeth.—*Rel. Politiques*, ix., 485 *et seq.*

[2] Don John to the king, Sept. 25th, Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., xvii.

actions, but left them to go on as best they could. However, even at a distance his eyes gradually opened to the true state of affairs.

"The slight result he had seen from the use of force, the prospect of the country's ruin, even if he succeeded in crushing it, above all, the fear that if he pushed them too far, the Flemings might throw themselves into his neighbour's arms, and last but not least, the exhausted state of his exchequer, all these considerations induced him to wish now to try moderation and kindness."[1]

It is no wonder that poor Don John wrote passionately to his brother,[2] that he never would have believed it possible that he could have been left so destitute in the face of all the world—a prey to shame and want. Now, alone on his own responsibility, with no prospect of material aid, and with the prince's return to Brussels imminent, he declared himself ready to yield to any demand of the estates. He promised to deliver the town and castle of Namur, Charlemont, Marienburg, Bouvignes, and Château-Thierry to the estates. He agreed to dismiss all the men-at-arms levied or retained by him, since his arrival in the Netherlands, to send away the Germans who still remained in the provinces at Breda, Bois-le-Duc, Roermond, Deventer, and Kampen, and to urge the king to send a successor to himself as soon as possible. While waiting to withdraw to Luxemburg, he should order all his captains to abstain from the exercise of their

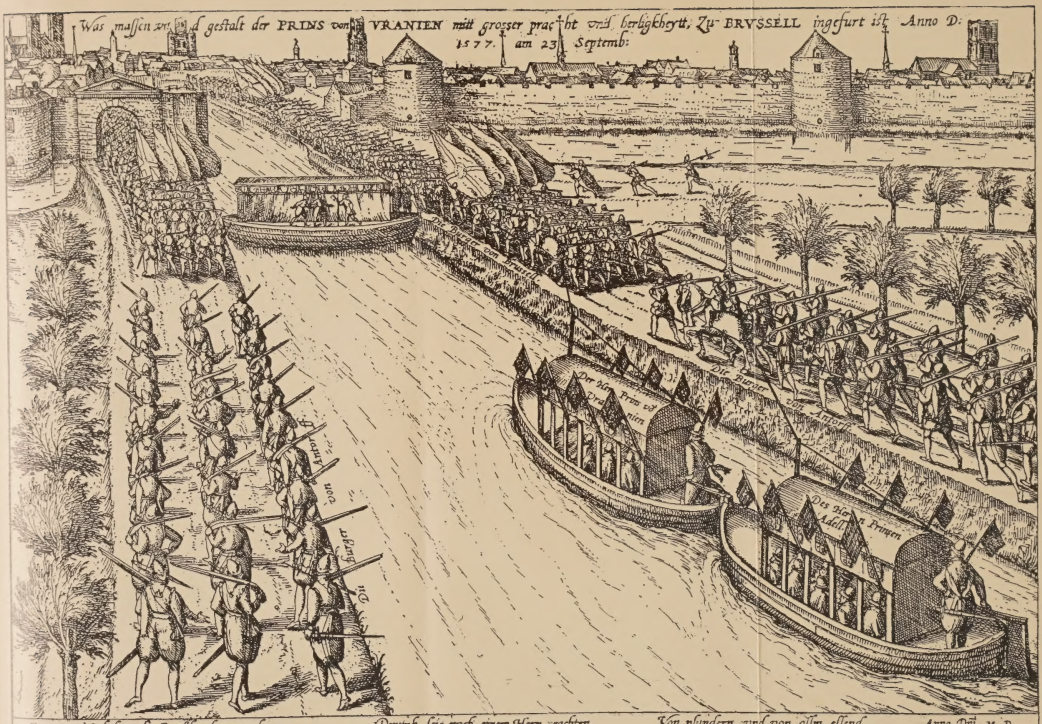
[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., xviii.

[2] *Ibid.*, xix.

charges, and should direct the governors of Luxemburg and Burgundy not to let in any troops destined for the Netherlands. Finally, he pledged himself to keep the Pacification of Ghent and the Perpetual Edict. In return for these concessions, the estates must promise the maintenance of the Catholic religion, obedience to the king, respect towards Don John as long as he retained the government, the cessation of all hostilities, and freedom of prisoners.

On September 22d, Schetz and his companions returned to Brussels, triumphant with the success of their mission, and made their report before the estates at five o'clock that same afternoon. The reply to Don John was deferred to the following day, but no one doubted that the answer would be favourable. The invitation sent to the Prince of Orange had, however, already been accepted. Henceforth his opinion could not be ignored. By this date, in pursuance of the urgent request of the estates, Orange was already on the soil of Brabant. On September 18th, he entered the town he had left ten years before, and was joyfully received by the Antwerp citizens.[1] Charlotte, his elder daughters, and new little ones stayed together at Gertruidenberg, in fear and trembling for the safety of the husband and father. The prince was not alone, John accompanied his brother, and it can well be believed that his support was most grateful to Orange, who had been so long without the fellowship of his own

[1] Bor, ii., 873; *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 523. He stayed at the Abbey of St. Michel, the usual residence of sovereigns.—*Les Huguenots*, etc., iv., 474.


Was massen vnd gestalt der PRINS von VRANIEN mitt grosser pracht vnd herligkheytt, Zu BRVSSELL ingefurt ist Anno D: 1577. am 23 Septemb:
Dis sein
Dis sein
Dis sein

family. The party stayed in the poor mutilated city for five days, and Orange was treated almost with adulation. Then he proceeded by boat on the canal to Brussels. The Flemings were curiously irrepressible in one respect. They had always loved a show, and ten years of internecine war had not succeeded in crushing their allegorical passion.[1]

The three barges that conducted Orange and his suite to Brussels were taken in charge by the rhetorical societies. A banquet was served on the first; the second, adorned with emblematical devices galore, and draped with the banners of the seventeen provinces, carried the prince. The third was filled with the honourable rhetoric societies, each one having arranged a more wonderful design expressive of the situation, than the preceding. It is to be hoped that the prince appreciated all the far-fetched classic allusions.

"And at the second schluze [lock] a myle above Willebrook was mett by 200 Bruxellers, which, with those of Andwarpe marched on the banckes, and . . . two leagues from Bruxells was met with so many well armed burgess of Bruxells, as with the rest . . . were estemyd to above xxx [thirty] enseignes guarding him to their toune walles. . . .

"At the place of landing he was receyved by the Duke of Aerschot and the rest of the nobilitie that were in the toune, and conducted on horseback to his own house. . . . That night he supped with the Duke of Aerschot,

[1] Bor, ii., 872. A sommarye report of the Prince of Orange, his entrie into Brusselle, September 22, 1577.—Wm. Davison, *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 538.

and the next day feasted the lordes at his own house. . . . *In summa*, that day was spent in compliments."[1]

It was indeed a tremendous triumph. He had been declared an outlaw by public proclamation in the streets of Brussels, and had been treated by the authorities as a rebel for ten hard, dreary years. Now, he came purely on the basis of his personal reputation; now, the force of circumstances showed that he was the one *man* in the land. He was not now at the head of an army. He came in his own simple person, as he said, to resume his seat in the council of state.

The day after his arrival, September 24th, the prince appeared before the assembly of the state.[2] Aerschot bade him a formal welcome, thanked him for coming, and asked him to aid the estates with his advice, and to see what could be done to remedy the affairs of the land, only begging him to make no innovations in the Catholic religion. Orange answered in a graceful speech, saying that it was love for his country that had brought him to Brussels. He was not ambitious of leadership; he had simply come to assist in the deliberations, and to share the burdens of the state council. He had no wish to make changes, either in religion or in government. He desired to assist in establishing peace, and in carrying out the terms of the Ghent treaty. So much for the courtesies. After that, little time was

[1] Sommarye report, etc., *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 539.
[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., xxvi.

allowed for breathing space, but the returned outlaw plunged immediately *in medias res.*

Don John's assent to the states' propositions was submitted to him. The exact matter of the reply was discussed bitterly and at length. On September 25th, they began at eight A.M. and talked till four P.M., and again from six till nine P.M.[1] Orange was present every minute, and took an active part. Finally, an answer was resolved upon, it being one that Orange knew would not be accepted. The following conditions were added to the articles. All officers who had allied themselves to Don John's party must be suspended till the meeting of the states-general. Count de Buren must be sent back at the earliest date. The Queen of England was to be comprised in the treaty. A new council of state must be formed, consisting of people chosen by the states-general who should direct all public affairs. The hand of Orange was plain in this, and Don John could not be expected to be pleased with further stipulations to what had already been a humiliating surrender for him.[2] He received the document with derision, and shortly after, on October 2d, he re-

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., xxix. *et seq.*

[2] The prince's conduct on this occasion made Philip very indignant. "The deputies of the states were just ready to sign an accommodation with my brother, when, unfortunately, this common enemy and disturber of the public peace, seeing that he could not work against the peace from Holland, hastens to Brussels, and, while pretending to want peace, excited war."—Philip's proclamation against Orange in 1580. Groen, *Archives*, vi., 168.

Don John neemt seer qualyken het entbieden van den Prinzen tot Brussel.—Bor, ii., 876. Don John doth very ill digest the receiving of the Prince.—Davison to Walsingham, *Rel. Politiques*, ix., 549.

treated to Luxemburg, whence he wrote again to Brussels in a more pugnacious spirit than he had previously evinced. They must not, forsooth, dictate terms to their princes. They must put down their arms and send off the arch-heretic to his own. They had promised obedience to the king and maintenance of the religion. Their actions showed little trace of these fair promises, etc.[1] The council at Brussels was in no mood to receive such words quietly, and the populace much less so. It was proposed to break off negotiations. The peace party was large enough to make the debate violent, but the former sentiment prevailed, and from that day all chance of a reconciliation with Don John vanished.

This final rupture necessitated much business, the reorganisation of a state council being the most important. The prince was the first councillor elected, receiving a unanimous vote, but he declined the office, saying that he would be obliged to return to Holland, and could not possibly make his headquarters at Brussels.

During this visit of the prince he must have written frequently to Charlotte, but no letters are preserved. Groen publishes several letters from her, all full of anxiety for his return to a place of safety, a longing that was echoed throughout Holland.[2] How she kept him informed of all their family details may be seen [3] from the following letters:

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., xxxvi.

[2] Daily prayers were offered for his safety.—Bor, ii. 855.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 173 *et seq.*

"MONSEIGNEUR: I arrived yesterday in this city at one, and came by boat to our lodgings, where I found our little girls in good health. The elder girls hoping for your immediate return, would not stay longer in your rooms. They have good lodgings, though to my thinking they are rather far off, as there are about fifteen houses between their house and ours. To-morrow your surgeon will begin to poultice (*panser*) Count Maurice.[1] We are all well, thank God, and long for your return. The people to whom I have talked in this city tell me that the Holland estates have begged you to come back, and think it will be safer for you to give advice from a distance, if the peace be concluded with Don John. I do not know, my lord, whether you will be detained much longer, and regret especially that your brother is no longer with you. We wish he were here. If you would write to him and beg him to leave you the tutor who is now with your son, I should think it a good plan, for the said tutor is very anxious about the uncertainty of his future dwelling place. He would be disappointed if he were kept now, and had no permanent position. Also, it would be well to let him know the salary you could give him. I break your head, Monseigneur, with my numberless details, but it really is necessary to know your will. I would also like to hear whether you have thanked the Queen of England for all her kindness, offered through her ambassador at Brussels?

"DORDRECHT, Oct. 22d."

Two days later she writes that Breda has been surrendered, and she wishes that the lodgings taken for Counts John and Schwarzburg, at Dor-

[1] Maurice had been ill.

drecht, were not so far off from her,[1] and again[2] on October 5th:

"MONSEIGNEUR: I would like to be assured that you do not often sup out of your own lodgings of an evening, for I am told that the citizens [those of Holland] are very much worried about you. Do take a little more care of yourself. I would also like to know whether the states permit you to have free exercise of religion, for I do not know, Monseigneur, how you could manage without that. I wish my lord could take a trip to Breda, for I do not know whether it will do to speak about things while you are not there."

On October 7th,[3] she acknowledges the receipt of his letters, and announces John's arrival.[4] They are delighted to have him back, and she and the girls have just dined with him. He has told them the news and delivered the prince's directions, which she will try to follow.

"The people here have decided to make us a present of a cup, the bowl of which is *licorne* and the rest silver. It is worth perhaps a hundred pounds. If all the others do the same, it will be a good proof of their good-will,

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 174.

[2] *Ibid.*, 177.

[3] *Ibid.*, 181.

[4] One, Gaspar Vosberg, writes on October 6th, begging Aldegonde to be careful in the midst of his enemies. He adds: "We have done the best of our small power to give a festive reception to Count John, by drying our powder [this probably refers to fireworks], and our goblets no less. Don John may be jealous the rest of his life."—*Ibid.*, 178.

but I should have preferred one present from all the estates which would have been handsome and useful at the same time, but I thought it better not to block this. . . .

"We, our daughters and I, are as patient as we can be, although it will be rather hard for us when your brother has gone. While he is here it does not seem as though you were entirely absent. . . . Your daughters send respects. We have grown very fond of each other and are quite intimate, and they take a great deal of care of the little ones."

A few days later Charlotte wrote[1] again:

"I have received the present you sent me from the queen, which I think is very prettily made. As to the signification of the lizard, it is said that its property is, when a person sleeps and a serpent is about to bite, the lizard wakes one. I think this refers to you, monsieur, you who watch over the estates, fearing they may be bitten. God grant that they beware of the serpent. . . .

"I have just thought that I ought not to let the gentlemen who are with your brother go without some presents. If you are willing, I will have your portrait and mine set either in one gold locket, or in two, with the device. If it is necessary to have a little chain to hang them on, tell me what value it should be."

The princess was not too absorbed by her family cares to do public service for her husband. Orange was not willing that his restored city of Breda should

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 190. The constant interchange of presents was a great burden.

be left too long without inspection. Charlotte writes that she will go thither, but is relieved to find that Count John can accompany her, as she dreads the responsibility. They must wait till Monday or Tuesday, as the town intends to honour John with a banquet.[1] "Monseigneur, since writing the above, I remember that I did not ask you about religious services at Breda. Must I have them in secret, or can I do as I do here? Let your wish be clear to me." After sending this she began to fear that she was too importunate with her questions, and she sends another note[2] from Breda:

"Since the dispatch of my yesterday's letter, I have felt troubled lest you may think I do not consider your present difficulties and burdens. But I assure you, monsieur, I have nothing more at heart, while the observation of the Pacification makes my head ready to split. However, I hope that you will be able to provide for that when you come. . . . We are all very well, thank God, and I found your house in better condition than I dared hope. It is now being cleaned and repaired."

Meantime, Don John was wrathfully waiting at Luxemburg, and while his rival was fêted by apparently unanimous hosts at Brussels, a new claimant appeared on the outskirts of the scene. During these years there had been constant suggestions of calling in some person of rank from without. The negotiations with France have been touched on.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 198.

[2] *Ibid.*, 200.

During the summer of 1577, Matthias, one of the young Austrian archdukes, had been suggested as a suitable exchange for his now unpopular cousin. Orange had been cognisant of this negotiation, and not altogether disapproving, though his own inclinations always leaned towards France.

After Orange had gone to Brussels and was wafted to the fore by popular opinion, the Catholic nobles, who disliked Don John but feared Orange and his Protestant backing, had, while receiving the latter with every show of brotherly affection, been secretly taking decisive steps in another direction. The young archduke was their choice, and a series of secret negotiations was carried on to bring him as quickly and quietly as possible to Brussels.[1]

Matthias was only a youth, not yet of age, and was highly flattered by the proposition made to him. It is probable that the Emperor Rudolph was not unaware of the whole transaction, but, on account of Philip, he preferred to be supposed ignorant.[2] Matthias escaped from Vienna in the night and made his way to Cologne, attended by two gentlemen and three servants.

One Dr. Labbé, agent of the French court at Vienna, gives the following account of his departure:

"Now I must tell you that the Archduke Matthias left here on the night of the 3d, at about ten o'clock, to

[1] Bor, ii., 898.

[2] Hubert Languet wrote to Sydney that first he pretended to be ignorant, and later, when it seemed a good thing, boasted that it was his planning.—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 202. Strada, i., ix., 38.

go to Flanders, in response to the summons of the states. His imperial Majesty and those who are dependent on Spain, are in great trouble lest it may be thought that this was done with his Majesty's consent, a thing that is incredible. . . . As soon as it had struck eight, the prince pretended to be very sleepy, and he and his brother, the Archduke Maximilian, went to bed in the same room, though in different beds, as usual; but when he saw that his brother was asleep, he leaped from bed, and without even putting on his slippers or any other garment, went to his room and put on a servant's dress. Then, having stained his face so as not to be recognised, he left the palace. They say that seignior Ruber, general in Hungary, and de Schwendi advised this course.

"VIENNA, Oct. 16th." [1]

On October 9th, Orange heard of his arrival, as he mentions it to John in a postscript to a letter.[2] The other powers who had been waiting to see how much it was worth their while to step in and protect the Netherlands, were all very indignant at this sudden appearance. For the moment, Orange was as much taken by surprise as anyone, but he made the best of it, and was at the head of the large deputation of citizens and 2000 cavalry who rode out of Antwerp to meet the self-offered young governor. Orange saw that Matthias was young and inexperienced, and that if he placed him in a nominal position of authority his own power would be strengthened in-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 201. This letter is probably to Catherine de Medici.

[2] *Ibid.*, 195.

ARCHDUKE MATTHIAS.
(Based on an old print.)

stead of weakened, by his presence. As war was again imminent, it would have been imprudent in the extreme to have insulted Germany as well as the Spanish branch of the House of Austria.[1]

Orange's party actually increased after Matthias's coming was known. In a very few days a measure was passed and approved, that put the prince in a firmer and more legal position than he had ever held. In the provinces there existed an old privilege of electing an officer called a Ruward [2]—a position somewhat that of dictator—an all-powerful ruler for the time being. Brabant had never had a provincial governor; Brussels, being the seat of the lieutenant-governor, that personage was considered sufficient. The title of Ruward had been given several times to the next heir-apparent or presumptive during the alleged incapacity of various rulers. Duke Albert was Ruward of Hainault and Holland, and as such ruled for thirty years during his brother's insanity, not taking the title until Duke William's death.

The election was accomplished as follows: The "members" or estates of Brussels, together with the deans of the guilds and others of the principal citi-

[1] Matthias first made his entry into Diest, where he was received by Philip Egmont and Dr. Leoninus, who conducted him to Lierre, where John of Nassau paid his compliments. Lierre offered no good accommodation for a prince, and there was, moreover, an epidemic there. Therefore, the Antwerp magistrates permitted the archduke to take up his residence in their city until he was formally acknowledged by the states-general.—Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., lxxxii.

[2] Het Privilegie seid dat den Ruwaert by de staten den Lands gekosen, volkomen macht hebben soude alle saken te doen, gelyk als Prince en Heere van den Lande.—Bor, ii., 898.

zens of Antwerp, addressed a request to the states of Brabant, that William of Orange should be appointed Ruward, and after long deliberation the measure was carried.[1] The unsought-for honour was then solemnly offered him, and declined. The matter was then referred to the states-general, who confirmed the election on October 22d, and this event was celebrated by a solemn holiday in Antwerp, Brussels, and other cities.[2] As Groen says,[3] the people wanted a guarantee against the intrigues that surrounded them. The coming of the archduke, instead of being the result of the prince's election, forced it, as a reprisal on the part of the people.

In spite of the brilliant success that was attending William at this time, the anxiety felt by his family and by the two northern provinces was not relieved until he left Brussels for Antwerp, about October 23d. On November 1st, John wrote[4] to William of Hesse from Antwerp:

"I have been prevented from writing, partially on account of the dangerous, and as one might say, gallows journeys[5] which the prince made hither and to Brussels, against his Grace's will, and not without many misgivings, and partially because I have been for a time in Zealand and Holland. As I was constantly on the move I had little leisure for writing. Such a crowd of

[1] Bor, ii., 898.

[2] Hoofd, xii., 600.

[3] *Archives*, vi., 210. It was understood that the office, from its very nature, expired *per se* on the acceptance of a governor.

[4] *Ibid.*, 215.

[5] "wegen der beiden gefehrlicher . . . und zwar galgreisen."

people have admission to the prince daily, and he cannot move without a host of company, who never consider how very inconvenient this is to his Grace. There is the greatest negligence, envy, and ignorance everywhere, and a strong hatred for our evangelical religion.

"The Archduke Matthias was invited by the Duke of Aerschot and several nobles, without any previous consultation with, or the knowledge of the others, to come to be lieutenant-governor. This caused general dissatisfaction, not only among the nobles, but also among the people, and danger seemed threatening if the prince did not bestir himself. It is still doubtful what the result will be. But I hope that when the people see that the prince does not object, but simply looks to it how the young man can best be advised and guided, the affair will come out well.

"ANTWERP, Nov. 1st."

From time to time there had always been turbulent risings in the town of Ghent. In the autumn of 1577, an outbreak occurred there which threatened to overthrow all the agreements made between the provinces.[1] After the seizure of Namur, the Duke of Aerschot was appointed Governor of Flanders. No sooner was this known, than a powerful faction was formed among those of the reformed faith, pledged to resist this authority. The leaders were two young nobles, Ryhove and Imbize, both devoted to the prince.[2] Aerschot arrived in Flanders about the middle of October, and at once convened the four estates, who held several stormy sessions. For a time things went on, though not smoothly. Then,

[1] Bor, ii., 903.

[2] Hoofd, xii., 501.

letters were intercepted from Hessels—an old member of Alva's famous blood council—to Count de Roeulx, a royalist.[1]

"We have already brought many notables of Flanders over to the party of Don John," so ran one letter. "We hope after the Duke of Aerschot is governor, that we shall carry out the intentions of his Majesty and the plans of his Highness. We shall also know how to circumvent the scandalous heretic with all his adherents and followers." The fire was laid and this letter was the match to light the inflammable public sentiment, though it is probable, that, like some other notable letters, it was forged for the occasion, but it might have been true.

On the night following the publication of this letter, Ryhove made a hasty journey to Antwerp and had an interview with the prince. The Ghent noble was for pushing on revolutionary measures immediately, taking advantage of the heated state of public opinion. Orange would not give his approval to the suggestions, but at the same time Aldegonde made it plain that if the enterprise succeeded, the prince would not be vexed.[2] When Ryhove returned to Ghent, he found the brewing storm just ready to burst. Imbize had asked Aerschot, unofficially in the street, when he meant to proclaim the restoration of the ancient charters. Aerschot tried to pass this off. Pressed for an answer, he finally showed his teeth and burst out, that he would like to silence the rebels who kept howling for a

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 220.

[2] Hoofd, xii., 502.

charter, with a rope around their necks, no matter though they were egged on by the Prince of Orange. This, according to Hoofd,[1] was the last straw, and Imbize rushed to his confederates, ready to excite them to any turbulence. That afternoon Ryhove returned from Antwerp with the prince's negative approval of their project. His words excited the crowd and they swept on towards Aerschot's residence, full ready to burn it. Aerschot, however, governor of scarce a week, thought discretion the better part of valour and surrendered. He was taken, still in his night-clothes, to Ryhove's house, where he was kept a prisoner over a fortnight. Most of the other royalists fled, old Hessels being one of the exceptions, and a provisional government was established with Ryhove at the head. Orange thought that this was going too far, and sent a messenger to Ghent who effected Aershot's liberation. In a letter of December 2d, to the estates, the prince promised to come to Ghent himself.[2]

Before the year closed the states-general at Brussels stated their policy unequivocally. On December 7th, they formally declared that Don John was no longer stadtholder, governor, or captain-general, but an infractor of the peace he had sworn to maintain, and an enemy to the fatherland.[3] Everyone

[1] xii., 503.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 28.

[3] Strada, i., ix., 39; Renon de France, ii., 217; Groen, *Archives*, vi., 256. The states-general published a justification of their proceedings with Don John, in Latin, High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, and English, and sent them to nearly all Christians with the request that none should grant the ex-governor passage for an army.—Bor. ii., 881; Hoofd, xii., 501.

was forbidden to aid him under pain of being declared a traitor; it was even ordered that an inventory of the estates of all such persons should be taken. Orange had declared at the Breda conferences that war was preferable to a doubtful peace. The doubtful peace was now definitely ended, and if at this crisis the Protestant world of the Netherlands could have been welded into one harmonious body,—could have found planks to make one platform big enough to hold them, there might have been a nation.

On December 10th, something else was accomplished, which was perhaps the greatest triumph in Orange's career, though, unfortunately, it had but an ephemeral existence. A new act of union[1] was signed including the whole seventeen provinces, in which the Romanists and Protestants bound themselves to mutual toleration, and protection against all outer enemies.

The reformed religion was placed on an absolute par with the old.[2] The original records of this alliance have not been preserved, and the contemporary historians have not given much space to the matter. It is known that the measure was unanimously accepted by the states-general as soon as presented. According to Motley, the Catholic nobles present gave their signatures unhesitatingly, and those in the army sent a deputation to testify their approval, even such Catholics as the Lalains

[1] The nearer Union of Brussels.

[2] The phrase used is: "We of the Roman Catholic religion and we, withdrawn from the said religion."—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 257.

and Egmont giving their signatures. Nothing had ever promised as much as this union, which subordinated religious differences to the need of political unity, and the credit belonged entirely to the prince. Perhaps it was just because religion was not everything to him that he was able to see the need of its essential element, while rating the hair-splitting differences of the creeds at their worth. The life of this union was, however, doomed, as will appear later.

The last important event in the year 1577, was the prince's visit to Ghent.[1] He went on December 29th, accompanied by Count John, and remained until January 15th. Nothing could have been more cordial than his reception. The desire for rhetorical spectacles and elaborate representations, symbolic of the state of affairs or feelings, was always ready to spring to the surface among the pleasure-loving Flemings.[2] This time, one rhetoric guild, "Jesus with the Balsam Flower," produced a wonderful drama called "Judas Maccabæus," in compliment to the prince.

When they came to business again after this revelry, Orange succeeded in making the estates promise that Flanders should contribute a larger and more regular quota to the general fund; by his intercession he also obtained good terms for the imprisoned nobles.

Since the prince's first return to Brussels, he had been doing his best to make friends with Elizabeth on a substantial basis. She had sent Charlotte a

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 276.

[2] Pamphlets in The Hague Library.

gift—the lizard referred to,—and just at this crisis seemed quite disposed to knit an alliance, lest Alençon should get in before her. The first important event of the new year was an arrangement made in London by the Marquis de Havré, by which Elizabeth endorsed a loan for the estates of £100,000. The money was to be raised wherever the estates could negotiate the bills, and her liability was to cease at the end of a year. As collateral security she received pledges from several cities.

The new year, therefore, opened well.[1] Orange was at Ghent, but his influence was strong in Brussels. His office of Ruward expired at the arrival of the new governor-elect *ipso jure*. A large popular party, however, insisted on his being nominated lieutenant-governor under the poor weak archduke, and the nomination was strongly backed up by Elizabeth.[2] The maiden queen, indeed, declared roundly that she would give aid on no other terms.

Orange himself, greatly feared dissensions at this juncture, when the general outlook was so favourable. The following letter was written apparently to the most influential of the Brussels magistrates.[3]

"GENTLEMEN: I have been informed of certain articles presented to the estates, in which you propose two

[1] Hoofd, xii., 508.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 277; Bor, ii., 903. "Op expresse conditien dat de Heere Prince soude by den Eersthertog gekoren worden voor synen Lieutenant General . . . sonder welk expedient, geen apparentie van het Ryke van Engeland eenige assistentie van geld of volk te trecken."

[3] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 278, slightly condensed and freely rendered.

things regarding myself; namely, that the government of Brabant and the lieutenant-generalship under the archduke should be given me. I am very grateful for the good opinion you entertain of me as to my fidelity and good will for public weal, putting aside my capacity, of which others are better judges. I think I possess the former requisites to an extent it would be difficult for any one to excel, as I have already proved up to this time. . . . But you all know what are my present burdens. The government of Holland and Zealand weighs especially heavily on me, and indeed I have no leisure now for my private affairs.

"I wish there had been no suggestion of offering me further charges. Besides the fact that my strength does not suffice for greater burdens, there is another reason that makes me unwilling to listen to the suggestion. I have heard that there is a diversity of opinion on the subject among the members of the estates. Considering the evil which might result if there were any dissension now, on my account, I beg you affectionately to make no demands on my behalf . . . Then, too, as I hear there is some talk of entrusting to me the lieutenancy of the army, I hasten to say that as Count Lalain is general, I should accept no charge which would lead him to think that I wish to infringe upon his authority."

In spite of this remonstrance, which it must be confessed was mild, it was decided on January 8th, by a plurality of votes, that Orange should be continued in his office as Ruward of Brabant, until the convocation of the states-general under the conditions of the Act of October 22d, "and that the states-general request [or require] his Highness to choose the said prince as his lieutenant-general."

As Languet remarked, Spain did not feel so injured at Matthias being elected governor, as at Orange being his lieutenant.

While these events were being transacted, a messenger—Noircarmes—had been sent to Spain. In January he returned, bearing a letter from Philip to the estates, dated December 18th.[1] The monarch now offered a complete amnesty, promised that no more Spaniards should be put in power, and that a new governor-general should be appointed—the Prince of Parma, Archduke Ferdinand, or Matthias himself, if they had set their heart on him. He would grant everything they wanted, provided, only, that they would maintain, in its entirety, the true religion as it was in his father's time. "Go back to Charles V.!" cried the estates; "that would be to annul the treaty of Ghent, and to return to the rigid execution of the placards." If these mild propositions—and there is no doubt that Philip sincerely desired peace—had come before Orange entered Brabant, they might have been entertained, but now, more was hoped for than a simple return to *statu quo* of the time of Charles V.

While Orange was still in Ghent, Matthias announced his intention of making his entry into Brussels on January 14th, accompanied by the prince. Orange, however, found it inconvenient to leave the seat of Flemish disturbances so soon, and wrote to the archduke and the estates that the 18th would be the earliest date possible for him. The new governor was therefore obliged to wait the convenience

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 283; Renon de France, ii., 211.

of his lieutenant for four days.[1] On the appointed day Orange joined the waiting company at Willebroek, where, eleven years before, he had taken leave of Egmont. A procession of notables was formed and the shadowy embodiment of gubernatorial power was ushered into the capital as if he were a conquering hero. Aerschot, Havré, and Gunther Schwarzburg rode first, preceding the Prince of Orange, who had young Egmont and Bossu on his right and left. Then came the archduke with no man at his side, followed by the other Count Schwarzburg, the imperial ambassador, with head uncovered.[2]

As the procession entered the *Grande Place* the crowd burst into joyful shouts, which acclamations William the Silent, hat in hand, received most graciously, showing in his face how pleased he was with the popular manifestation. Then Brussels testified her acceptance of the new protector, with the same ingenuity and profusion that she had lavished on public receptions twice before within the twelvemonth. The allegorical performances that had been prepared were wonderful and complicated beyond measure. Outside the city gates a review and sham fight were offered ; after the entry, the spirit of allegory took an upward flight and hovered over the poor imperial youth like a bewildering guardian spirit.[3] In the *Grande Place* twenty-four stages had been erected, and here were shown a series of bril-

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., xcv. ; Hoofd, xii., 509.

[2] Ph. du Bois to Don John.—*Ibid.*

[3] See Motley, iii., 304.

liant tableaux in which fancy ran riot. Juno presented Matthias with Brussels in minature, Cybele gave him the keys, Reason handed him a bridle, Wisdom a looking-glass, and so on through the list of all the characteristics required for a successful ruler. Upon one stage Quintus Curtius, on horseback, was seen plunging into the yawning abyss; upon six others Scipio Africanus was exhibited as he appeared in the most picturesque moments of his career. The beardless archduke had never achieved anything save his nocturnal escape from Vienna in his night-gown, but the honest Flemings chose to regard him as the reincarnation of these two Romans. Carried away by their own feelings, they already looked on him as a myth, and such indeed he was destined to remain throughout his Netherland career. Popular revelry continued after the hero had been safely conducted to the palace, and there was much merry-making in the streets till a novel display of fireworks sent the people to their homes in scared wonder.

On the 19th, the states sent a deputation, consisting of Aerschot, Bossu, and Meetkerk, to wait on Matthias and request Orange's appointment as lieutenant-general. It was, indeed, flattery to call this a request. It was rather a peremptory order, and Matthias at once acceded to it. Meetkerk reported the acceptance to the estates, who took the oath of allegiance before they went to dinner. Orange demurred somewhat to this arrangement, but he let himself be persuaded to accept.[1]

[1] "Le dict d'Orange faisoit samblant et instance ne l'accepter et le remerchioit. Quoy voyant les seigneurs et messieurs des estatz luy

On the 20th, Matthias and Orange both took their oaths of office,[1] which event was celebrated by a banquet in the grand hall of the town-house, followed by a wonderful drama under the auspices of "Mary with the Flower Garland," a famous rhetorical guild. Desiring Heart, Common Comfort, and a tribe of other personages were all represented as assuring Belgica that all the divinities were now propitious to her, and in giving her a certain person as governor all her ills were to be remedied. This finished, the new governor was considered as properly inaugurated. How much the Prince of Orange was bored by this wealth of allegory, it is difficult to tell. He was undoubtedly so intensely anxious for the attainment of independence against Spain, that he was perfectly willing to see the people pleased in any way that suited their fancy. John was with him in Brussels, having now decided to throw in his lot with the

prierte instamment tous : ce qu'il acceptit, en remerchiant le dict archiduc et toutte l'assemblée."—Philippe du Bois to Don John, February 2, 1578 ; Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., xcvii.

[1] The articles by which Matthias was accepted did not give him the usual powers of a governor. The new council appointed by the states-general, was to decide on all matters by a plurality of vote. Matthias could make no statement without consent of the states, who were to convene at pleasure, both in the provinces and in general assembly.—*Renon de France*, ii., 193. Entry in Antwerp.—*Rel. Politiques*, x., 242. The states-general in announcing the acceptance of the new governor to the provincial estates added : "Et mesmes S. A. pour point estre si bien imbue des affaires de par deçà, a adorné et déclaré monsieur le prince d'Orange pour son lieutenant général au gouvernement des dicts Pay-Bas ; lequel aussy, à nostre très *instante réquisition*, en a accepté la charge et aussy faict le serment requis."—*Circulaire du 24 Janvier, 1578, Bibliothèque Royale*, Brussels.

Netherlands,[1] and on him Orange evidently depended for that sympathy with which he could not dispense, self-reliant as he appeared. Aldegonde and John were both necessary to him, though even they, with all their affection, could not understand him. Both of them cared intensely for their religion, with a strong theological bias, and his spirit of tolerance towards the Anabaptists, for example, seemed to them to show a dangerous Laodicean lukewarmness. At the beginning of the new administration, John, having already accepted the governorship of Guelderland, which had strongly objected to the appointment of Bossu,[2] was sent by Matthias to Nymegen to deliberate with the estates there.

This was the most successful moment in Orange's whole career. Sheltered by the nominal leadership of a member of the Austrian House, whose birth gave a show of reason to his being there, while the reins of power were in his hands, it was his to direct not only the affairs of the Protestant provinces, but of those which still cherished in their hearts the ancient religion. To be sure, the pope had issued an edict

[1] John asked the Landgrave William's advice as to staying permanently in the Netherlands. He mentions various reasons for not complying with the wish of his brother, and of Holland and Zealand; he then adds: "To be sure, my private business calls me, not to speak of the fact that I am not very well skilled in the speech of this land, nor in the people's customs, humours, and way of acting."—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 240.

To this the landgrave writes a very cordial advice not to meddle in Dutch affairs. William never altogether trusted the prince, and gave some credence to the suspicions that he fomented the troubles in the land.—*Ibid.*, 267.

[2] *Ibid.*, 289.

that put him and his followers on the same basis as the Turks and other heathen; he knew that his support from England was on a flimsy foundation that might give way at any moment; any help from France must necessarily be equally unreliable, and self-dependence seemed impossible. Still, in spite of all difficulties, there was the great central fact that the Brabantine Catholics had accepted the Protestant leader to protect national interests.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FOUR KNIGHTS.

1578.

DON JOHN, meanwhile, remained at Luxemburg and fumed savagely at each successive bulletin from the capital, which showed him how completely his brief authority was ignored. His royal brother had at last listened to his prayers and sent him much needed supplies and a new body of troops under Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, son of Margaret and nephew to Don John.[1] Strengthened by this reinforcement and further encouraged by a recent papal proclamation regarding heretics, the ex-governor evinced his determination to recover his vice-regal rights without further words. The estates had a very fair army[2] in the field south of Brussels,

[1] Hoofd, xiii., 514.

On January 25th he published a manifesto in three languages, declaring the truce at an end and his intention of re-establishing, by force of arms, the authority of king and church.

[2] Elizabeth had lent 100,000 pounds on security from certain cities.—*Ibid.*, 513.

under the leadership of the great nobles. They were nearly all Catholics, and while they hated the Spaniards, were not whole-hearted in their support of the Prince of Orange. The only really effective military body is the army of a despot. The forces of the states at this date were much like the troops under the American Continental Congress, two hundred years later. Each leader considered himself quite on a par with his colleagues. Concerted action was thus rendered difficult.

In the end of January, Lalain, Melun, and several others of the prominent nobles were absent from camp to attend the wedding of Seignior de Bersele, leaving the younger men, Philip Egmont, de Hèze, and Havré, in command.[1] By that time, Farnese had appeared on the scene. He saw that this was a fitting moment for an attack, and fell on the army of the estates, camped not far from Namur. In numbers the two forces were nearly equal, but the discipline of the royalists doubled their strength. The patriots fell back on Gembloux, towards Brussels, on the last day of January.[2] On February 1st, Don John broke camp at dawn and pursued the retreating army. The leader displayed ostentatiously the banner he had carried against the Turks, with a new legend, "*In hoc signo vici Turcos, in hoc hæreticos vincam.*" A skirmishing battle began, which at first seemed favourable to the patriots, but a bold movement of Farnese changed the fortunes of the day. He made an unexpected onslaught through a dan-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 292.

[2] *Ibid.*, 292 *et seq*; Hoofd, xiii., 516.

gerous swamp, taking the patriots unawares. A brilliant captain might have saved the day, but he was not there. The patriots yielded almost without a blow and were cut to pieces. Fabulous tales were told of the numbers slain by each valiant Spaniard. According to one calculation, each man must have finished ten Netherlanders with his own hand.[1] Whatever the exact statistics, this much is sure, the whole patriot army was almost annihilated, the prisoners being mercilessly drowned in the Meuse, while an insignificant number of Spaniards perished. It was an undoubted victory, and in the end proved a decisive battle as regards Netherland unity. With the outlook as favourable as it had been in January, 1578, a crushing defeat of the foreigners still on Flemish soil would have drawn the provinces together. Brussels was thrown into the greatest consternation, and the people were so turbulent that Matthias, Orange, the council of states, and the states-general were alarmed for their personal safety and retired to Antwerp.[2] On February 5th, how-

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[1] Hoofd, xiii., 517; Strada, i., ix., 49; Bor, ii., 934. At the battle itself only a portion of the Spanish troops were actually present.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 297 *et seq.*; Hoofd, xiii., 518.

On February 4th, the states-general resolved that "for the better conduct and expedition of affairs the entire charge should be given to his Excellency, the Prince of Orange, and to the council of state, and they be authorised to do what is necessary." [*Rés. des États-Gén.*, Hague Archives.] Thus Orange was made commander-in-chief for the "generality," as he had been for Holland and Zealand.

The government of Brussels, beyond the municipal affairs, was assumed by a council of eighteen. This was also adopted by several other cities.—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 266.

ever, the states-general published a proclamation declaring that united they should stand, and that the union should be preserved in spite of all reverses.

The next event of public importance compensated in some degree for this defeat of Gembloux. The important city of Amsterdam had remained steadily hostile to the patriot leader, and loyal to the king. Through the influence of emissaries from Utrecht, which city had been devoted to the prince from the autumn of 1577, Amsterdam was persuaded to a change of base. On the 8th of February, a week only after Gembloux, the citizens accepted a treaty containing the same conditions as the Utrecht Satisfaction. Permission was granted to the various reformed sects to worship, each according to its own rites, and to bury their dead within the walls.[1] To be sure, every one was not equally satisfied with this Satisfaction, and various municipal disturbances followed in the course of the winter, finally ending in a revolt in May, when partisans of the prince succeeded in banishing, though without bloodshed, the Catholic faction that had remained strong against him, and in establishing a city government which upheld his measures.

Whether the prince had his family with him at Brussels does not appear, but when he went to Antwerp in midwinter, they joined him, and found their quarters not altogether cheerful, as is shown by the following letter[2] from Marie to Count John :

[1] "A right hardly to be denied to a dog," as the prince remarked with an unconsciousness of future sanitary prejudices.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 293.

"WELLBORN, FRIENDLY, HEART-DEAR FATHER: I must let you know that I have now received one or six[1] letters from you, and rejoice indeed at the proof of your goodness to me, and that you have not forgotten poor little Maiken. Indeed, I can not thank you enough. I would have liked to answer at once, but could not as I knew of no messenger to your Excellency, and I did not dare write on an uncertainty. Pray forgive me, and I will do better, with God's help. Pray forgive me, too, that I was so silly at parting from you, and never thanked you for all your goodness to me. I would have liked to do so, but was too sad for words. Your Excellency must take the will for the deed, and rest assured that if my father and all of us can ever serve you, we will not neglect the opportunity, and I hope to remain your true, filial, obedient daughter as long as I live. It was harder to part from you than I dreamed it would be, but as it cannot be otherwise I must perforce be content.

"Your Excellency will probably have heard of the changes which have taken place here since your departure —how our people have suffered defeat, and how the enemy have gained Gembloux and Louvain. I hope to God, things will come out right. The archduke, the Dukes of Aerschot, Havré, and other Brussels nobles are all here, with their wives. . . . I heard that your Excellency arrived safely at Nymegen, and rejoice especially to know that the Guelder folk are glad to have you, but it will be no little burden for you to stay away from home so long, and besides, you will find it expensive. I only hope that they will deserve all your trouble, and will give you an opportunity of going home. I know how the mother and wife must wish for you as it is a long time since they have seen you.

[1] Eyn briff oder 6. This must be a misprint.

"Dear father, I must tell you that we are now lodged in the castle, and you can not believe how grievously cold it is. I am afraid if I stay here long, I shall be frozen stiff. Would it not be a joy to wake up and find myself in my beloved little room in Dillenburg—Well-a-day! I hope that may come in time. I must tell you, that your son Philip[1] arrived four or five days ago. I cannot see that he is as pious as your Excellency says he has become, for it seems to me he is roguish and spoiled. I hope, though, that he will come to his senses and grow rational.

"ANTWERP—in haste. Feb. 10th."

With the progress of events the reformers became bolder, and the different sects preached with hitherto unheard of openness in Antwerp. Hoofd says[2] that there were fifteen sermons by as many different ministers in one Sunday. According to a story in one of the letters of that indefatigable correspondent, Languet, Orange asked the burgomaster if he thought that this preaching could be suppressed? "Only you can do it," answered the mayor, "I give your Highness all the power I possess." "And do you think," continued the prince, "that I can do now, what Alva was unable to accomplish at the height of his power?" Nor did he really wish to suppress them. A state church never came into his programme.

During the February weeks Orange exerted every nerve to arouse local interest in the important question of general defence, and to foster a national

[1] Philip of Nassau, born 1566, killed 1595. "Een dapper, kloec en wel bemint Heere, van grooter hope."—Meteren, page 361 *d*.

[2] xiii., 534 *et seq*.

spirit. He wrote to the sheriffs of Ghent,[1] begging them to fortify the cities of Alost and Termonde, and sent similar epistles to other cities. Don John, however, held his own fairly well, and possessed himself of Tirlemont, Diest, Nivelles, and Louvain.

On March 8th, Marie wrote[2] again to her fatherly uncle:

"It can never go so well with your Excellency, that I would not wish it a thousand times better. How things are here, your Excellency has doubtless heard. The enemy have gained Aerschot, Sichem, and Dietz, where, as I hear, they exercise great tyranny, so that the poor people are to be pitied indeed. There is a rumour that the enemy mean to advance to Maestricht and even to Mechlin. All is in God's hands. Further, heart-dear father, I must tell you that the Marquis of Havré is going to England to-morrow or next day, and wants to take my cousin, Count William,[3] with him. As my father saw that my cousin greatly desired to visit England, to see and learn something of the world, he thought this a good opportunity for him to make the journey in suitable company; he gave his permission and intrusted him to Lier,[4] for which I was very glad, as you well know that he is a God-fearing noble. If my cousin William take him as a model, as I do not doubt he will do, he can learn no evil. Your Excellency would hardly believe how fine my cousin is now. He has grown much more lively than when

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 38.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 301.

[3] William Louis, eldest son of Count John of Nassau, b. 1560, d. 1620. In 1579 he entered the service of the provinces. Some years later he became Governor of Friesland and Groningen.—*Ibid.*, 296.

[4] Joachim van Lier, deputy from Zutphen to the states-general.

he left you ; I am sure you will be pleased when you see him. You may trust me, if it were not true I would not write it to you. The margrave only proposes to be absent a fortnight. I helped my cousin out with money as well as I could. I hope you will not be displeased at the project.

"Your true daughter,

"M. F. v. N. AND O.

"ANTWERP, March 8th, in great haste."

The states-general had very properly set a limit to Havré's stay in England, in the hopes of bringing Elizabeth to a quick decision.[1] The delay in all diplomatic matters was one of the most trying burdens Orange had to carry. At this crisis when Don John was pressing up from the south, aid was looked for in three quarters—from Germany, England, and France. The Elector Palatine, indeed, had really promised to send reinforcements by Duke Casimir. Don John thought from letters he had intercepted that Casimir was just on the point of arriving, and he hastened to gain what ground he could, before the weakened forces of the states should be strengthened by these German troops. But Don John need not have feared. Casimir delayed from week to week, while the endeavours to bring Elizabeth to a point, as well as the negotiations with Anjou, were more or less on the carpet during the winter.

John of Nassau was now duly elected to the government of Guelderland.[2] His faithful niece, Marie,

[1] *Rés. des États*, Feb. 26th.

[2] De Berghes to John, congratulating him on his election.—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 308.

kept up a close correspondence with him, writing on March 13th, to say that the English travellers were off, and that she hoped she could soon report their safe arrival. He need not worry about William, Lier would be sure to take good care of the young man. In dating her letter she writes first, "Dillenburg, in great haste," and then adds: "Your Excellency can see by my date where my heart is. As I was going to write Antwerp, out popped Dillenburg."

As Marie had divined, John did find it burdensome to remain so long abroad. He, too, felt that his heart was in the fatherland, and therefore, before immersing himself in Guelderland affairs, he took an opportunity to go to Dillenburg and look after his own estate. He was at home during March, whence he wrote to his brother, giving him some idea of current events in Germany, and to the landgrave about Netherland affairs. He wished advice from the latter on the advisability of his throwing in his fortunes with the provinces. Shortly afterwards he appealed to the landgrave on the religious question, which was a vital matter to him. John could not look on all churches with equal favour. To him there was a right and a wrong point of view.

On March 19th Marie wrote[1] as follows:

"I am sorry to hear that the mother feels so poorly, but after this long life of toil and trouble we cannot hope for much else. Further, beloved father, as your Excellency writes to me that you have heard that I was be-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 329.

trothed to your eldest son, I assure you I can not wonder enough how people got hold of such an idea, for there is *not a word of truth* in it. It is hardly a fitting time for such matters, and I think, too, he cares nothing for me. If there were such a prospect, be sure I should tell you at once.[1] I must tell you that my father means to take Maurice from Breda and send him to Leyden."

The rumours that John hears in Germany are not promising for the projects of Netherland independence. Austria is said to be preparing a large army to send to aid Don John. John seemed in no haste to return to his government, where he found, as might be supposed, a strong party of opposition. In April his brother-in-law, Schwarzburg, wrote,[2] begging him to hasten back, as both prince and archduke needed him greatly. Two days later Orange found time to write[3] himself, as follows:

"WELL-BORN, FRIENDLY, DEAR BROTHER: We have received your letter, and weighed your opinion regarding the Guelderland government. I wish to give the matter further consideration, but cannot come to a decision without you. Pray take a little journey[4] hither with a small escort, so that we can talk over various matters."

The prince, indeed, had need of some one to whom he could say a friendly word. His position was very difficult. He had accepted Matthias and did the

[1] Nine years later Marie's sister Anne married the cousin in question.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 349.

[3] *Ibid.*, 351.

[4] "Eine kleine raisz mit wenig volcke."

best with him that circumstances allowed, but the whole situation was farcical, and everyone knew that it was only to be maintained until a more substantial figure-head appeared. Negotiations with Anjou dragged on. The majority of the estates were not, however, favourable to him, and this opposition was shared by Catholics as well as by Protestants. Matthias, of course, objected to any aid coming from that quarter, as he had perception enough to see that a present French prince would be far more likely to displace him, than assistance from an absent English queen, or from Duke Casimir of the Palatine, rumours of whose coming with troops, were wafted across the Rhine from time to time. The last was a vassal of the emperor, and the young archduke felt safer against his encroachments than against those of Anjou. His shadowy power could not indeed suffer diminution without danger of dissolution.

Aldegonde, meanwhile, kept up a close correspondence with Anjou and his confidential agent, des Pruneaux, to whom Orange also wrote warmly. Before, however, all this interchange of fair words showed any result, Casimir finally set out on his march from Germany. As Marie wrote, they were all, especially those who feared the French alliance, longing for his arrival with his doughty knights.

Casimir's movements spurred Anjou on, and as the one crossed the eastern border with 12,000 men, the other advanced from the west, and on July 13th wrote[1] to Orange from Mons:

[1] Anjou to Orange. Groen, *Archives*, vi., 404.

"My cousin, you have been sufficiently advised of the levies I have made in France to aid messieurs the states-general in their just cause. I will only say that I have directed one of my confidential servants, whom you know, to have my forces in readiness to march. Meanwhile I have come on with a few confidential attendants. . . . I would like to consult with you on the best mode of checking the enemy's audacity and unsupportable insolence . . . and would be glad if you could come to this city. If that be impossible, send me one of your people who is thoroughly in your confidence. It is very necessary, my cousin, that we understand each other perfectly, so that, marching on the same footing, we may destroy the enemy's hope, founded on the division that he tries by subtle means to excite between us," etc.

The situation became more strained. Elizabeth was furious at Anjou's espousal of the cause, when she had been so generous to the oppressed Netherlands[1]; the Walloon provinces were pleased, as they feared both German and English Protestants; while Flanders refused to believe that Medicean interference could result to her advantage.[2]

On July 28th, Orange had an interview with the English ambassador at Antwerp, who "laid down unto him the dislike her Majesty conceived thereof. . . . It seemed strange that they could enter into any dealing with him of whose soundness and sincerity they could not be assured."

The Landgrave of Hesse had a private secretary in the Netherlands to keep him in touch with current

[1] *Rel. Politiques*, x., 645 *et seq.*

[2] Hoofd, xiii., 553.

events. This man, Antony des Traos, reported [1] to his master as follows:

"As to Count John, I heard that the estates of Holland and Zealand wished that he should be their governor in the absence of the Prince of Orange, as he could easily hold the three provinces together. They have offered him 18,000 florins pension. He declined. They have now sent a special messenger to urge his acceptance. I think he will let himself be persuaded, urged on by the prince, notwithstanding that he has plenty to do in regulating local affairs, which are not only in a bad condition, but many of the cities are still Spanish in their sympathies, so that he dreads an uprising. Don John is turning his army in that direction. . . . The Duke of Alençon said roundly that he would have nothing to do with the archduke, but must treat directly with the states. When the archduke heard this he burst into tears,[2] and asked the bystanders if sufficient aid could not be brought from Germany to resist the Spaniards, without applying to France."

Orange disregarded remonstrances and tears alike, and responded cordially to des Pruneaux on July 17th, enclosing a little note from Charlotte.[3] She is rejoiced at the hope of seeing a countryman, and sends her respects to her prince.

With the imminent prospect of Duke Casimir effecting a juncture with Bossu, Don John determined to force the states' troops to a definite engagement.[4] This was done on July 31st, near

[1] July 15th. Groen, *Archives*, vi., 415.

[2] "Il commença à pleurer."

[3] *Ibid.*, vi., 421.

[4] Hoofd, xiii., 551.

Rijnemaants, and resulted in defeat for the Spaniards with a heavy loss. Bossu did not follow up the advantage then gained, and was severely censured by the Nationalists, his loyalty even being questioned. Don John fell back on Namur, and Bossu waited near Mechlin for Casimir, who would not advance from Zutphen until he was assured that the states would pay his troops.

This new ally to the cause of the patriots was hardly more promising than the lachrymose Matthias or the fickle Valois. The latter, perhaps, possessed more ability than the Austrian or the German, but was false through and through, as was natural to his mother's son. Casimir was endowed neither with the ability nor the generosity needed for the heroic part he planned to play in the Netherland drama. His enterprise was not regarded with favourable eyes among the nobles of the empire. The landgrave, who had inherited much of his father's love of expressing a dogmatic opinion on every one's affairs, wrote [1] as follows to des Traos:

"I am more and more confirmed in my former opinion, namely, that John Casimir has plunged into a confused chaos,[2] into a dangerous business, in which he will have more to dread from his friends than from his enemies, though the latter are not to be despised. The estates are not at one among themselves on the main point of religion, which is the stoutest *vinculum stabiliendi fœderis*, and one party furthers what the others would gladly hinder; at the same time, some people, for private reasons,

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 427.

[2] "confusum chaos."

grudge the very eyes in the heads of others. One party turns to France, another to Austria, and the third does not know on what peg to hang its allegiance. I cannot see, therefore, in such a government, what can be done, even if Duke Casimir had boasting Hector and Achilles in his army. God, however, lives, who rules all things, and will doubtless make an end, to the honour of His name. That Alençon,[1] according to thy letter, is already at Mons in Hainault, and Lalain and others are flocking to him, is probably a bold stroke [*meisterstück*] of the old queen, for it will divide the estates, make them mistrust each other, and also cut off aid from England, for Queen Elizabeth will doubtless be angry and turn against the estates, as she cannot be pleased at seeing the French nest themselves in the provinces. Then, too, by these means, the states must forfeit favour of the emperor, the Austrian House, and the whole empire, on account of the archduke. The result may be that they will be declared rebels, German soldiers may be led against them, and help given to the King of Spain and to Don John to subjugate them again. In any case they expose themselves to danger and plunge in over their heads. We cannot, therefore, wonder sufficiently, that the prince let himself be persuaded by his wife to consent to such enormities [*enormibus*] without considering all the above points. *Summa*, the comet and great *prodigia* of this year, will have their result. God grant that they have a good end.

"FRIEDEWALD, July 31, 1578."

It is rather curious to see what a fair view of the state of things the landgrave could get from his dis-

[1] Anjou had been his title ever since the accession of his brother to the throne, but his old name clung to him.

tant point of observation. It was easy to criticise, but what could he have done?

In August, Anjou, waiting at Mons, grew impatient, and wrote to Orange on August 7th, complaining bitterly of the delay in admitting him into the provinces. As the landgrave said, different influences kept pulling different ways, and action was blocked. Finally, on August 11th,[1] after long deliberation and conference among the members of the council of state, their Excellencies and the deputies of the states-general accepted the aid offered by Anjou. This was done by a plurality of votes, although several of the provincial deputies declared, that, not being authorised by their constituents, they must throw all responsibility for the action on the council of state, with the hope that what those gentlemen might do would militate to the public welfare. On August 13th the treaty was concluded.[2] Anjou became Defender of Netherland Liberties—at least, that was the title given him.

Apparently a great concession was thus made to

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 438 *et seq.*; *Rel. Politiques*, x., 716.

[2] The substance of the treaty, in twenty-three articles, was that Anjou should aid the provinces against the intolerable tyranny of the Spaniards and the unjustifiable assaults of Don John. He was to bring 10,000 foot and 2000 horse for two months. At the expiration of that time that force was to be reduced to 3000 foot and 500 horse. No hostilities against Elizabeth were to be allowed. The states should supply a force equal to Anjou's. He must submit to the civil government of the country, and must not make any private contracts with any cities or provinces. All captured cities must belong to the estates. No foreign troops except French could come in under Anjou's standard. If a new sovereign were chosen, Anjou should have the first consideration.—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 438.

the Walloon—that is, to the Catholic—interests, but they were not perfectly satisfied. In the first place, participation in the civil government was refused to the duke for the time being. He was only offered *first consideration if the sovereign were changed.* Then they thought he was made too dependent on heretics, as he had to promise to ally himself with the Queen of England, the King of Navarre, and Duke Casimir, the arch-heretics of Europe. The prince had gained his point, but it was questionable whether he had not simply provided another nucleus, around which opposition could centre.

The states-general, in making this treaty, reserved the month of August for negotiating with, or, in other words, winding up their business with, their Spanish governor. At first they were aided by the English ambassadors, Walsingham and Cobham, who returned to England on August 24th, with apologies for not having effected a pacification.[1]

From Don John's point of view, the articles offered were so preposterous, that his approval would have been a miracle. They proposed that he should depart with all his troops and adherents; Matthias should be governor-general under the conditions according to which he had been accepted; religion was left to the states-general; prisoners were

[1] Great fear was expressed by these gentlemen lest the provinces should aspire to independence. "If the victory inclyne on the States' behalf, he sawe them disposed to grow so insolent, as, in steede of rendringe obedience to the King, they would erect some new shapen comonwealthe, according as the diversitie of theire opinions and fansies should leade them."—Conference of Cobham and Walsingham with the emperor's ambassador. *Rel. Politiques*, x., 654.

to be released, exiles permitted to return, property restored. If Matthias died, or departed, no successor could be appointed without the consent of the states-general.

Don John was past feeling either amusement or irritation. He knew that he had been a failure. Chance had lately revealed how much treachery his brother had shown him. His misfortunes culminated in the death of his friend Escovedo. That loss, and a rebuff near Mechlin, increased his despondency. His system was filled with low fever, contracted in his camps along the Meuse, and he lost the power of resistance. The armies lay quiescent during September, both being cramped for funds.

At first, Don John had sufficient energy to plan the construction of a new camp on the heights, a mile above Namur. When he grew weak with the fever, he thought change of air to this loftier situation might benefit him, and he was carried thither on a camp bed. An old pigeon-house was hastily cleaned out for his reception, and there he was installed. For a time he directed the works and wrote dispatches, but in the last week of September he relinquished his struggle both for government and for life. He gave his last directions, wrote to his brother, appointed Parma his successor until orders should arrive from Spain, and then passed into delirium, in which the first battles of his brilliant, promising youth played a vivid part. On the night of September 30th his senses returned, and he received the rite of extreme unction. On the morrow, October 1st, he was again calm and collected,

and he assented to a proposition to hear mass. His sight had failed, and he was not conscious of the elevation of the Host. When his observation was attracted to it he made an effort and tried to pull off his nightcap in token of adoration. From that time he continued murmuring the names of Jesus and Mary until about one in the afternoon, when he expired, "passing," as his confessor said, "out of our hands like a bird of the sky, with almost imperceptible motion." [1]

It was a sad ending for the young man who had once felt that the whole world was his, and had lived only long enough to see all his brilliant castles in the air fall like card houses. In coming to the Netherlands he had had his own schemes in view, which he had abandoned perforce. His brother had wished a mild policy used in the government, and Don John had tried it unsuccessfully, as he was baulked and baffled by Philip's failure to aid or direct him in his difficult course, by his neglect to furnish the requisite supplies, and, finally, by his treachery. The first scheme had failed, and the plan of the military subjugation of the Netherlands had been resumed.[2] Whether he could have carried on the miserable contest with the heroic patience and energy, and the wonderful fertility of expedients for dispensing with the aid of the vacillating king and his beggared treasury, by which Alexander Farnese proved his ability, or whether he would have

[1] *Don John of Austria*, Sir William Sterling-Maxwell, 1883, vol. ii, 335.

[2] Sterling-Maxwell, ii., 360 *et seq.*

plunged into deeper humiliations, are unsolved questions.[1] In spite of the hateful policy of which Don John was the willing instrument in the Netherlands, it is impossible to look upon his forlorn position there without sympathy and compassion. Honours, which his royal brother permitted to him later, and a resting-place by his imperial father, were slight compensations for his disappointed and disheartened death when he was but thirty-one years old,[2] still hoping for a long career. He was wasted beyond recognition of what he had been in his handsome, vigorous prime, when, as a Moor, he had ridden so gaily into Luxemburg.

The duty of directing affairs in the loyal provinces and of winning back the disloyal territories now devolved on Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma. He was soon confirmed in Spain, and became, formally, Philip's personal representative in the Netherlands. Born in 1546, the new ruler was about the same age as his uncle and predecessor. He possessed far more brilliancy of character, far more intellect and greater

[1] He himself was not hopeful of success. In one of the last two letters he wrote to Philip he said pathetically that "I remain, confused and perplexed, desiring more than life some decision on your Majesty's part. . . . Our lives are at issue on this stake, and all we desire to do is to lose them with honour." He asks for "orders on the conduct of affairs." Philip wrote across the phrase: "The underlined words I will not answer—'Lo rayado no yo le diré.'" MS. in The Hague Library. Motley, iii., 254.

[2] There is some doubt as to whether the date of his birth was 1547 or 1545. The evidences seem to be in favour of the former date. As usual in the case of princes' death, it was rumoured that he had been poisoned by the king's orders, but this report was probably untrue.

skill as a captain than had any of Philip's former lieutenants.

"He spent his infancy in the embraces of his mother, Margaret of Austria, his child-hood under the best Tutours that age afforded, yet with little benefit, at least not answerable to the industry of the masters and the aptness of the Scholar: For he, of a restless and fiery nature, hated the fetters of study, and rejoiced in the Field a hunting, in riding the great horse, and practising his weapon, more delighted to exercise his body than his mind." [1]

As a youth, he shared the education of Don Carlos and Don John. At twenty he was married to the Phœnix of Portugal, that bride endowed with all virtues, and the wedding had been celebrated in Brussels in 1566, just when the dissatisfaction against Spanish measures was beginning to make itself heard in a way to alarm the regent. Since then he had been engaged in various wars. He had come gladly to the seat of Margaret's former government, prepared to show what real warfare was, and entirely unwilling to share that government with his mother, as had been first proposed. As soon as possible Farnese dispatched letters to the European potentates announcing his accession to the regency, and calling on them to aid him in finally crushing the rebellion that had gained such headway in his royal uncle's domains. The new governor assumed that his authority extended over all his uncle's northern dominions, officially ignoring the fact that two bodies

[1] Strada i., ix., 42.

Alexander Farnesius, Hertoch van Parma ende Playsance, Gouverneur der Nederlanden.

ALEXANDER FARNESE, PRINCE OF PARMA.
(Based on an old engraving.)

cannot occupy the same space at the same time, and that a certain portion of the dominions considered that they had lodged this same authority in their chosen protector, and that, meanwhile, the Prince of Orange was exercising it.[1]

Personally, Orange was held in high esteem at this time, and where he saw opportunities of binding the states or individuals to himself he did not neglect them, as thereby he hoped to win adherents to the cause of the "generality." In the end of the summer Charlotte's third daughter was born in Antwerp. It was suggested that the august body of the states-general should act as sponsors for this baby, together with Catherine Schwarzburg, and that the name of Catherine Belgia should be bestowed on the child thus adopted by the united provinces. A deputy from Tournaisis, one Barthelemy Liebart, has left a report of the chief events that happened during the seventeen months that he sat in the states-general.[2] This Liebart was evidently an adherent of the ancient faith, and looked with suspicion on anything that might be to its prejudice. He records that when the prince announced his daughter's birth and asked leave to have her christened by Protestant rites, he mentioned that he had *abstained from religious services for a year.* Now that there was free

[1] In his dispatches to Philip, Don John had reiterated the statement that the provinces belonged to Orange and to no one else.—*Solamente del P. de Oranxes que suyas son y no de otro.*—Motley, iii., 321.

[2] *Rapport sommaire des affaires d'importance, passées ès estatz généraulx*, May 26, 1578—October 6, 1579.—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 310.

public worship in Antwerp the prince was resolved to avail himself of it and wished to advise the states of his intention.[1] There was evidently a difference of opinion in the assembly as to the advisability of publicly assisting in the ceremony. The result of the discussion is recorded in the minutes.[2]

"On the proposition made by his Excellency regarding the baptism of his child, the states of Brabant, Guelderland, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Mechlin, and Friesland said that they relied on his discretion, and offered him their humble service and aid in the said baptism, but those of Artois, Hainault, Lille, and Tournaisis declared that they were forbidden by their constituents to meddle with the subject of religion, and therefore could not in any wise consent to countenance the occasion."

The minutes[3] of the session of September 20th show further, that Guelderland, Tournay, Tournaisis, and Valenciennes were not represented in the assembly when a gift of the territory of Linghen was voted to Orange[4] in honour of the occasion, and when official deputies were appointed to take part in the ceremony of the christening. Liebart says that he himself did not consent to the present voted to the prince, but he went to the feast where "the Antwerp colonels and captains were entertained at

[1] *Rés. des États*, September 10th, 1578.

[2] *Ibid.*, September 12th.

[3] *Ibid.*, September 20.

[4] He was charged to pay an annual income of 3000 florins to his daughter.—*Rapport sommaire*, September 27th. 300 florins were also voted to the nurses.

one table with Aldegonde and the pensionary of Middelburg, as hosts, for the prince."

Thus in her first entry into public life, the new little daughter did her father service, inasmuch as public honours were shown to him in her behalf. He took advantage of the warm feeling toward him and obtained permission to establish a new place of Protestant rites in the neighbourhood of his residence. The sentiment against him, to be sure, also found expression, as is proved by the minutes, but as even those who were publicly in the opposition, took part in the festivities, it looks as though there were no bitterness in the division.[1]

Count John was in Germany just at this time, whither he had hastened on hearing that the Spaniards were preparing to invade his territory. From Dillenburg he wrote[2] as follows to William of Hesse:

"The states-general and the Duke of Alençon offered themselves as godfathers to the prince's daughter with the request that he would name her Catherine Belgia. When his Grace desired public *exercitio religionis*, saying, that otherwise he would again withdraw to Holland, the states granted a church near the citadel at Antwerp. From this and other circumstances, I cannot help

[1] "Last Sunday between five and six o'clock in the evening the prince's daughter was christened in the place where the new religion is exercised, situated before the prince's hotel. Formerly it was used for the bodyguard of the castle. They gave her the name of Catherine for the prince's sister, Countess Schwarzburg, and Belgia for the states who stood with the said lady at the font, assisted by the English ambassador and Duke Casimir."—*Rapport*, etc.

[2] October 13th. Groen, *Archives*, vi., 457.

thinking that his Grace's authority and reputation waxes daily, though the French are not especially well pleased with him, as they flatter themselves that if the prince were not here, their schemes would have more chance of success."

Orange's own authority certainly was on the ascendant, but during the autumn months "the confused chaos" of public affairs did not become simpler. Great and small dangers on every side threatened the safety of the provincial union. Under the magnetic influence of the prince's presence the turbulent spirit of Ghent had been calmed for a time, but the tranquillity was only a whited sepulchre. At the first opportunity the fire of discontent blazed up anew. On October 10th, Casimir, in spite of remonstrances, went to Ghent in person to try to collect money,[1] as the city had promised a contribution for his unpaid German followers. These were the *Reiters*, whose coming Marie of Nassau had so desired, and who proved a curse to the land. The landgrave, with his faculty of hitting a nail on the head, wrote[2]: "Our sainted father used to say that he would rather have thirty, or more, thousand devils, than an equal number of German *Reiters* or volunteers, whom he could not pay. Devils might be exorcised with the believer's cross, but soldiers could not be shaken off without money or blows." The poor Netherlands were now proving the truth of this prophecy.

Casimir's presence in Ghent was the signal for fresh

[1] Renon de France, ii., 297 *et seq.*

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 479.

disturbances. The two demagogues, Ryhove and Imbize, who had acted in concert in the previous year, were, now, each at the head of a party. Ryhove counted himself an Orangist, while Imbize inclined to Anjou. On October 11th, the prince wrote[1] to the sheriffs, deans, and notables of Ghent, begging them to accede to the articles that the messengers of the states-general were taking them, and urging again the self-evident proposition that their internal dissensions must work to the enemy's advantage. Three points did Orange insist upon before any negotiations could be opened: (1) assurance of their property to the priests, (2) free exercise of their religion by the priests, (3) release of the prisoners of October 28, 1577. If these points were granted, Matthias, Orange, and the states-general would take arms against the Walloons and protect Ghent. The first points were granted, guarantees were given for the reformed religion, and speedy and just trials were promised to the prisoners, Champagny and others. Two, Hessels, the old blood-councillor, and another, had been dragged from their prison and ruthlessly executed after a pretence of a trial. These terms were acceded to,[2] but matters did not improve. Again a fierce riot broke out and ran wild. In December, Orange returned to Ghent and tried to still the disorders. He exerted his policy to the utmost, accepted the hospitality of Imbize, had intimate conferences with Casimir, and talked over the

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 83.

[2] Act of Acceptance, November 3, 1578.—Renon de France, ii., 307.

magistrates singly and collectively, actually to such good purpose, that he gained their consent to a religious peace which was published on December 27, 1578.

Casimir had done nothing but bring trouble, dislike, and distrust wherever he turned. He never could have freed himself from the Ghent tangle without the prince's assistance. That done, he thought he had had enough of the Netherlands, took leave of the states-general in a verbose document, in which he vaunted his deeds. Still, as he felt himself neither "too useful nor too agreeable to the provinces," he thought he had better go, which he did shortly after, returning first to Germany, and then going to England, where he was made a Knight of the Garter, and was fêted extensively.

Anjou, too, thought he must go home, and he disbanded his troops, who were taken into the service of the malcontent Romanist party in Artois[1] with a suspicious promptitude. He stayed for a time on the borders, sending his minister, des Pruneaux, to the states-general to express his dissatisfaction with his lieutenant, and saying that the best wish he could offer the Netherlanders was a speedy reconciliation with their sovereign.

[1] The Walloon Catholics received the name of "Malcontents."

CHAPTER XXIX.

TWO UNIONS—DISUNION.

1578–1579.

THE Pacification of Ghent had seemed both strong and pliable, well adapted for the purpose of enclosing men of many minds in one bond, without restricting their freedom. But the outer bulwark showed evidence of not having staying power, and those who had sought its shelter were led to erect a new and inner defence against the time when it should crumble to dust and leave them exposed to the enemy.[1] In this way were established the Unions of Utrecht and of Arras.

During the summer months of 1578, John of Nassau worked heart and soul to bring about a new alliance among kindred spirits, and he builded better than he knew in the result he achieved—the Union of Utrecht. There are many conflicting opinions as to whether the Prince of Orange inspired this, or whether, as Lettenhove says, it was entirely John's work, accepted by his brother only when it was

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 536 *et seq.*; Wicquefort, *Histoire de l'Établissement de la République*, etc., i., 5.

found to be good.[1] The evidences seem to me to show that the prince planned for and wished a union, but the carrying out of the project was left to the count, and the result was different from what Orange had hoped for. Consequently he only agreed to it when he saw there was no other choice. There was a radical difference between the Nassaus in the way they regarded theological opinions. The prince earnestly desired equal liberty for the old faith and the new, while the count thought that concessions should only be made if the new religion could not otherwise be protected. For instance, he wished the Religious Peace in Guelderland, where the Catholics were in power, but thought it unnecessary in Holland, where the Protestants were in the ascendant.

Certain articles,[2] proposed by the prince in June, and accepted at Antwerp in July, are the best embodiment of his own deep-seated convictions of what was necessary as well as just. It was therein stipulated that there should be entire liberty of conscience, "so that no dissension may arise, each sect or individual remaining free before God, but none

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[1] *Les Huguenots*, etc., v., 314 *et seq.* "'I gained the union, I advanced it,' says Orange in the *Apology*. He says this truly. Since 1576 such a confederation was the object of his desires, the aim of his efforts. Nevertheless, it is known that he delayed long in signing it. This delay had, as will appear later, grave motives. We will just notice that, against the prince's wish, this union took a very anti-French character, as well as anti-Catholic."—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 433.

[2] Religious Peace, or *Religionsfrid.* Bor, ii., 973; Meteren, iii., 163.

may molest the others." One hundred families in any place might have public services. If the number were less than that, no one was to be hindered in what he privately did in his own house. Seditious sermons or songs were forbidden upon the streets; certain Romanist restrictions concerning marriage, fête and fast days, were imposed on all alike, and no inquiry into the theological opinions of office-holders was to be allowed. Finally, four notable persons, well qualified, were to be chosen in every district to watch over the maintenance of religious toleration.

Shortly after the publication of this *Religionsfrid* in Antwerp, John wrote to Beutterich,[1] explaining why he could not meet Casimir, adding in a postscript:

"Dear Doctor: You know these people and can understand just what is to be expected from them for the common good, or for the advantage of religion. We who love both our church and our country must draw together and become mutually helpful. We, therefore, have tried to persuade those of Utrecht, West Friesland, Overyssel, and Guelderland to consult with Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, Bois-le-Duc, and Maestricht, and thus far have made a good beginning in the above places, and among the nobles and gentlemen, although we feel our own unworthiness to approach such subjects," etc.

That was the count's view. In preparing the union, he wished to draw together all lovers of their country, but he puts the kindred by religion in the first rank. While he reluctantly agreed that the

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 430.

French alliance might be a sad necessity, he wished to unite the evangelical party into an opposition which could check the dangerous tendencies of the foreign allies. The views entertained by Orange found almost no support among his friends, least of all were they approved by his brother. John was sincerely religious, according to his lights, but his understanding had never been illumined by the beacon of toleration. Therefore, the platform of the union which he fathered, and which was the first story of the Dutch Republic, was one in which the reformed faith was the essential plank.

During the summer months the project was widely discussed,[1] many ministers advocating it warmly from the pulpit. Commissioners[2] were appointed, held several meetings in November and December, and finally drew up articles of confederation, which were presented for consideration in Utrecht early in January, 1579.

Coincident with these measures in the north, events of equal importancce were taking place in another quarter of the disuniting provinces. In the very region where the first fierce Protestant disturbances had burst out, twelve long years before this date, the Catholic reaction became stronger. It seethed during the autumn, fomented by the priests, by Parma's envoys, and, possibly, by the French allies.

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[1] Hoofd, xiv., 574; Groen, *Archives*, vi., 479–536; Renon de France, iii., 318; Bor, iii., 26.

[2] The prince wrote urgent letters to the cities, asking them to take part in this movement, but he did not, himself, assist at the deliberations.—Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 133 *et al.*

The final result was an anti-Protestant league,[1] drawn up at Arras on January 6th, and accepted on January 29th, by a plurality of votes of the deputies from Artois, Hainault, Valenciennes, Lille, Douay, Orchies, Tournay, and Tournaisis. The signers pledged themselves to maintain the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, and the obedience due to his Majesty. In taking this step, the southern provinces asserted that they meant to preserve the Pacification of Ghent, and were only driven to action by the insolent excesses in Ghent and elsewhere. They claimed that a choice must be made between Spanish rule and that of King Mob. The news of this movement at Arras urged on the proceedings at Utrecht, and the discussion there was concluded on January 23d.

In the preamble of the Union of Utrecht,[2] it was affirmed that the signers, like those at Arras, did not wish to depart from the Pacification of Ghent, but "to strengthen the same." The two interpretations, however, did not tally. The commissioners at Utrecht rejected the Union of Brussels and the Perpetual Edict, and were ominously silent on the question of Matthias.[3] As to religion, what had been provisional in Holland and Zealand was made defi-

[1] The publication of the Religious Peace in Arras had caused lively dissatisfaction.—Hoofd, xiv., 573; Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 134; Renon de France, iii., 335.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 536; Bor, iii., 26.

[3] "Not *ex contemptu*," as an apologist said, "but because the union is perpetual and the authority of his Highness is only temporal, and, moreover, he has not been accepted by Holland and Zealand."

nite, but the Religious Peace was admitted as regarded the other provinces.

"In its origin, the Union of Utrecht, which became the nucleus of an independent republic, was only a compact of common resistance, with no aim to make innovations, either in regard to other provinces or towards the stadtholders or the sovereign."

On the day when it was concluded, deputies from five provinces were present. The first signature was that of John, as Stadtholder of Guelderland and Zutphen, then followed the names of four deputies from those provinces, and of others from Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Friesland.[1] Groningen did not enter the confederacy until many years later. The cities came in gradually. The Prince of Orange did not place his own signature on the paper until May. Then he only gave it because he saw that the breach with the south was irreparable, but the two unions, instead of one on a national basis, was a keen disappointment to him.[2] There was, too, a widespread opposition through the provinces, and several justifications[3] or defences of the articles, were published, which, gradually, had their effect. In the last

[1] Antwerp accepted this in July, 1579.—Bor, iii., 31. Brabant and Flanders, as provinces, joined neither union.

[2] He is severely criticised by several authors for saying in his *Apology* that he made this union, when, in fact, he was so slow to accept it. Yet both facts are true. John carried out his idea, but in a way to preclude the union from being *national*, which had always been the prince's ideal.

[3] One of these (Groen, *Archives*, vi., 540) is the queerest mixture of German and Dutch.

week of January, Orange returned from Ghent to Antwerp, whence he wrote anxiously to John, advising him to look to the protection of Guelderland.[1] The count was absorbed heart and soul in the new union, and the prince feared lest Parma might make an unexpected attack, and that these paper defences would prove frail.

On January 19th, Elizabeth wrote to the states reproaching them for their discourtesy towards Anjou. She is both grieved and surprised that they did not better content him.[2] It is a queer letter, the tone being that the queen is really hurt to think that her Flemish neighbours could be so rude. To this sisterly remonstrance the states replied that if Anjou had suffered indignity, it must be charged to the iniquity of the times and not to the ill-will of the states.[3]

The winter months were full of uneasy disturbances in every quarter. Parma exerted himself to the utmost, to turn the disaffected southern provinces back to their sovereign. Possessed, like many of his House, of marked personal charms, he lost no opportunity of trying to win over individuals and communities by a display of graciousness and liberality. In March, he showed his determination to use other methods too. He gathered his soldiers in the vicinity of Maestricht, which he then proceeded to invest. More than ever did Orange see the necessity of making all these uneasy, self-absorbed communi-

[1] January 26th. Groen, *Archives*, vi., 564.

[2] On August 29, 1578, she had assured her ambassadors that the safety of the states was threatened by Anjou's coming.

[3] *Rés des États-Gén.*, January 29th.

ties turn their attention to national defence. On March 23d, he wrote[1] to John from Antwerp:

"My Brother: As matters of importance come up daily, which I am extremely desirous of discussing with you, I write to beg you to come hither if you can. As you know, the states of Guelderland have been convoked to appear in this city on the 26th instant. I beg you to urge them to send their deputies in sufficient numbers, authorised to cast a vote. Quick action must be taken, etc."

In the south the machinations of Parma and the priests bore early fruit. In the whole Walloon country, Tournay and Tournaisis[2] were soon the only provinces holding to "the generality." The states and the prince made vigorous attempts to hold them back. Vain were all efforts. The southern provinces feared the tyranny of the mob, they feared lest the ancient Church of their ancestors should be forced to bow before the innovations of uneducated reformers. These motives were quite as sincere as those of the Protestants.[3] In addition, many others who did not care very much for the Church, were influenced by less noble considerations and by the bribes which Parma used unsparingly. All these influences resulted in a project of reconciliation with Philip, who promised faithfully that all privileges should be respected, foreign troops immediately

[1] Groen, *Archives*,, vi., 595.

[2] Bor, iii., 38 *et seq.*

[3] Strada, vol. ii., i., 42.—(Latin ed.). The English translation in Stapylton's quaint English, ends with Don John's death.

withdrawn, and that a legitimate member of Philip's household should be lieutenant-general. This treaty was not ratified till four months later, but its purport was soon public property. The wonder is that any patriots remained after the defection of the richest portion of the land.[1]

Strada[2] gives a vivid account of the festivities in Paris in honour of this event. A pantomime was exhibited in one of the theatres, in which Philip was introduced on the stage leading a nice, gentle cow. Suddenly she became restive, kicked up her heels, broke the leading-string, and was about to run away. Up rushed Alexander Farnese and tried to tie the broken rope,while the states-general, too, appeared *en masse* on the stage ; some seized the cow by the horns, or got on her back, while others stood off and called for help. The German emperor, French king, and English queen, who seemed to sympathise sometimes with the cow and sometimes with the pursuers in turn, looked on. Alençon rushed bravely up to her and seized her tail. Then Orange and Casimir appeared on the scene with a milk-pail and attempted to milk her, when Parma again grasped the halter and led the animal triumphantly back to Philip, she having kicked over Casimir with one foot and Orange with another !

In Maestricht, the inhabitants showed a plucky determination to repel Parma from their gates. The siege[3] was duly begun on March 12, 1579. The in-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 612.

[2] Strada, ii., i., 42.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii., 45 *et seq.*

habitants went promptly to work to build interior walls, then proceeded to burrow underground passages. That was just what Parma's men were doing, too, and the troops of mole-like workmen met and tried various schemes of circumventing each other in the depths of the earth. It was the old story of bravery on both sides, but Parma was richer in resources, and pure grit was forced to yield. He built a series of strong forts around the city, with houses to accommodate his men. He had come to stay and meant to be comfortable during the process. Orange had with difficulty collected a force of 7000 men, whom Count John and Hohenlohe led into the field, but the first view of the city encircling Maestricht showed them it was a lost game.

The Emperor of Germany had long wished to try his efforts at mediation,[1] and in 1579, arranged a conference at Cologne, where every difficulty between Philip and all his provinces was to be removed. In May the commissioners assembled. From them Orange tried to gain a truce for Maestricht. Parma, however, saw his advantage, and refused any accommodation. During four months did the siege drag on. Finally, one night, one of Parma's guards on the fortfications discovered a small breach in the earthworks, which he enlarged with his hand sufficiently to make a passage for his body. He crept in and looked around under the light of the stars. It was a sleeping city—everyone, wearied out with the superhuman efforts that had been made, was

[1] Hoofd, xvi., 618; Strada, ii., ii., 64; Renon de France, iii., 358 *et seq.*

slumbering quietly in temporary security.[1] The soldier went back and reported what he had seen. Parma ordered an instant assault, and the wall was stormed before dawn. The brave burghers, after their long resistance, were taken completely by surprise. A massacre followed, with all the unspeakable horrors that Spanish soldiers — held at bay during four months — were capable of. Strada[2] gives eight thousand as the number slaughtered during the siege and the three days' massacre, and Hoofd[3] says not more than four hundred were left, when the thirst for blood was finally slaked. On July 3d, Parma made his triumphal entry into the poor maimed city, and gave solemn thanks to God, who had, in His goodness, granted a victory to the faithful ones of His Church.

It was a crushing blow to the Nationalist party, and there were many murmurs through the land that Orange was to blame. Had not the Maestricht citizens trusted him? Had he not promised relief if they would only hold out? They had kept their part of the bargain and no relief came. Their ruin was due to his half-heartedness and delay, as had been the defeat at Mook Heath five years previous. There had been many hard times in Orange's life, but few were harder to bear than these months after the fall of Maestricht.

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[1] June 25th a letter from Orange was thrown into the city, promising aid in a fortnight. Bor says this letter was "gescreven met een cleyn net handeken."—Groen, *Archives*, vi., 622.

[2] ii., iii., 94.

[3] xv., 595.

Antwerp remained fairly quiet for some months after the acceptance of the Religious Peace, and the peaceful exercise of both communions was permitted. Any great religious festival, however, was as dangerous as it had been when the first troubles began in 1566. The Feast of the Ascension[1] was celebrated on May 28th, with more than ordinary pomp, as the archduke took part in the "*Ommegang*," a procession through the city, which formed part of the ceremonies. The rabble of Antwerp, professing to be greatly scandalised at the Romanist proceedings, taunted the participants in the function, blows followed, and soon there was a riot of the old kind with *Paapen uit*, "no Popery," as the war cry. Two people were killed, and Matthias was in some personal danger. Orange hastened to quell the disturbance, and succeeded in dispersing the irate Christians without further bloodshed. On the following day he assembled all the civic officers and functionaries, and declared that he would leave the land if these tumults could not be stopped. The magistrates professed themselves ready to do anything he wished, if he would not desert them. Thereupon he had a new ordinance enacted, securing to the Catholics all privileges of worship. There were similar riots with similar enforcement of privileges for the ancient worship at Utrecht. This Protestant turbulence gave a new impulse to the Catholic reaction in the Walloon provinces.

Meanwhile, Ghent entered the Union of Utrecht, but the fires of rebellion there were not extinguished,

[1] Hoofd, xv., 596.

and from time to time a fierce flame blazed up which threatened to destroy the commune. In March, Orange sent appeal after appeal to the city,[1] imploring the people to be reasonable, reminding the reformed churches that this turbulence was injurious to their cause. He calls the citizens "noble, notable, far-seeing, discreet, good friends," and then he shows them what idiots they were to indulge in riotous behaviour, when they were trying to heal the sickness of rebellion. "You are acting as a wounded man, who tears off his bandages like a madman, and instead of submitting to treatment, plunges a dagger into his own heart." Words that were justice itself. Perhaps the sober-minded citizens realised their truth, but it was not they who needed restraint, and the rampant lawlessness was not curbed. The demagogue, Imbize, lost no opportunity of casting slurs on the prince's character and motives. He was a papist in disguise, he was parleying with France for his own benefit, etc. Pierre Dathenus, an ex-monk, the most fanatical of the Ghent preachers, declaimed violently and openly against Orange. He called him an atheist; he declared he could change his religion as readily as his coat; that he really cared nothing for either God or religion, but made his idol of state and expediency, and would tear off his shirt if it smacked of religion, etc. At first the prince took no notice of these calumnies. In July, he added in a postcript[2] to a letter to the Ghent burghers:

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 591.

[2] *Ibid.*, vii., 33; see also 79.

"I have been informed that Master Dathenus has been stigmatising me as a man without religion or fidelity, as one eaten up by ambition ; and that he has said other things hardly decent for his profession. I do not think it needful for me to make any statement in reply. I will only say that I am willing to submit to the judgment of all who know me."

When he finally decided that his presence was absolutely necessary in Ghent, Orange went thither, but neither the demagogue Imbize nor the preacher had the courage to face him. The former was found hiding in the cabin of a vessel, about to make his escape. He was dragged to the presence of the man whom he had slandered and forced to confront him. Orange's treatment of the ranter was as modern in spirit as much else of his conduct. He did not make him a martyr, but let him go scot free, after a lecture on the evil of his ways. Dathenus and Imbize both fled to Germany, and were taken under Casimir's protection.[1] Orange saw the city elections take place according to law, finally accepted the governorship of Flanders, which he had refused many times, and then returned to Antwerp.

Such were the events within the land. Across the borders at Cologne, the congress was in progress to settle, forever, all these little difficulties. The deputies had assembled with much pomp and circumstance and a liberal supply of wine and beer. Likewise they had provided competent cooks, skilful in preparing banquets to rest the heads, weary with

[1] Meteren, iii., 332.

the problem of reconciling the irreconcilable. All the powers of Europe were there by proxy. Pope Urban VII. was represented by the Archbishop of Rossano; Philip, by five august councillors, with the Duke of Terranova at their head. The states-general sent a fitting deputation, among whom was Gaspar Schetz. The emperor sent an embassy with Schwarzburg as his mouthpiece, while the Electors and Archbishop of Cologne and Treves were present in their own persons.

The first action of this body was to propose to make a secret and private peace with Orange. It was plainly insinuated that Philip would make his submission well worth his while.[1] Orange repudiated the suggestion and manifested his intention to stand or fall with the states-general. Then the negotiations began in earnest and continued for four months, during which Maestricht fell. In the course of the parleys[2] the Netherland envoys gave the imperial commission to understand, that, in case peace were not made, the states would declare the king

[1] See *Apology*; Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., cviii. *et seq.* The fact of these overtures was not known until Gachard found the story told in letters from the Duke of Terranova to Philip, which are preserved in the Spanish archives. Terranova was sure that he could persuade Orange to consent to an accommodation, and employed Schwarzburg to aid him in his persuasions.—*Ibid.*, ci., *et seq.*

On July 13th, the prince wrote formally to the imperial ambassadors at Cologne, accepting their proposition to send deputies thither, but making it very clear that he could not act from his *individual authority*. He is completely and vitally identified with the *generalidad*. This letter is Spanish and was found in the archives of Simancas.—*Ibid*, 165.

[2] Bor, iii., 58; Motley, iii., 446.

fallen from his sovereignty and the people freed from their oaths of allegiance. It was further intimated that they probably would accept Anjou in his place.

Finally, on November 13th, the states' envoys were invited into the council-chamber.[1] The commissioners said they had waited seven long months for an acceptance of Philip's most moderate and just demands, and that their patience was exhausted. The peacemakers, therefore, were forced now to leave the whole in the hands of God and of the parties concerned. The answer of the states' envoys was simple enough: "If we had known that your Worthinesses, etc., had no better intention, and the Duke of Terranova no ampler commission, the whole matter might have been finished, not in six months, but six days." The envoys of the states-general departed as a body, but the representatives of five provinces remained, and from their further negotiations, resulted the reconciliation between the southerners and their monarch.[2]

But worse than these vain deliberations, more injurious to the cause than the fall of Maestricht, was the individual defection of the nobles. One prominent man after another, all Catholics, but many trusted patriots and credited nationalists, joined the party who did not wish union at the expense of their ancestral religion.

"It is rumoured (John writes to Orange),[3] that the

[1] Bor, iii., 101; Meteren, iii., 577.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 147 *et seq.* Orange did not once go to Cologne during this long and profitless discussion. John, however, made this journey twice and wrote in full to his brother.

[3] July 11th. *Ibid.*, vi., 640.

eldest son of my brother-in-law, de Berghes, has taken a regiment over to the Prince of Parma. I will, however, hope for the best, and trust to hear for certain within two days." The rumour was, however, too true, and this change of base on the part of one allied to the House of Nassau was calculated to do great injury.

On the last day of July, John wrote in despair to his Dillenburg friends.[1] "I could not leave the prince just now, as he is deserted by nearly every one except the Governor of Friesland and myself." Even in this modest numbering of the prince's adherents the count was too sanguine. This same governor, a trusted friend of both prince and count, was even then just on the eve of defection.[2] His name was George Lalain, Count of Rennenberg, and Orange would have staked his head on his fidelity to the cause. But in November he entered into a formal treaty with Terranova, by which he was to receive "as the price of his virtuous resolution to return to his monarch, 10,000 crowns down, 10,000 more in three months, and a pension of 10,000 florins." His barony of Ville was to be turned into a marquisate, and on the first vacancy he was to be made Knight of the Golden Fleece. Not, however, till the following March, did Rennenberg carry out his plan and go formally over to Philip's service.

In a day when there were no newspapers to reflect every passing public emotion, when villages were nearly as far apart as capitals are to-day, it is re-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 35,

[2] Bor, iii., 80. He was brother to the trusty Hoogstraaten.

markable that a whole country could so soon be influenced by a common impression, that the public pulse could so quickly beat with one feeling. But so it was, and in this summer of 1579, Orange had fallen under a general cloud of distrust, very different from the warm affection given to "Father William," a few months previous. The indefatigable Hubert Languet wrote[1] to Sydney on March 16th:

"I cannot sufficiently admire his prudence and equanimity in bearing such a weight of business and such insults. I think there is no more distinguished man in the Christian world. I think there is no living man possessed of greater prudence than the Prince of Orange."

To win contemporaneous appreciation, success is essential above all things, and just at this epoch, success did not smile on Orange. He felt this general criticism keenly. In a letter[2] to the Ghent magistrates on July 24th, he says:

"It is really incredible that people are to be found who dare doubt my zeal for the religion in whose cause I have suffered so much. I wish they would just compare what these critics have done for ten years, with my actions. I confess that I have not at all approved the fashion of some zealots, but in what touches the true advance of religion, I would yield to no one. Then, too, consider that those who blame me so boldly, only have the liberty to speak which I have won for them by the blood of my family, by my labours, and by the expenditure of my money. They are indebted to me alone for the very privilege of speaking of me so freely."

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vi., 680,

[2] *Ibid.*, vii., 18.

The faithful emissary of the landgrave watches all these events and changes of public opinion with a close observation. On August 6th, he reported[1] as follows from Cologne:

"MONSEIGNEUR: I am often reminded of your remark that this Netherland war could not be confined within its own borders. The intrigues that the Prince of Orange and the estates carry on with the Duke of Alençon [Anjou], so greatly to the prejudice of the King of Spain, and, in consequence, to that of Austria, while des Pruneaux is working in Antwerp to make his master lord of the Netherlands, give occasion to lend faith to the above mentioned prophecy of your Excellency. For I do not doubt, that, if this affair be concluded (the danger is greater than ever), the emperor and indeed the empire, will espouse the cause of his imperial Majesty to avoid having a disagreeable neighbour so close at hand. I will not here mention the names of those who would join this party, but I will just say that at two or three different times the princes and electors here assembled, have plainly hinted what they will do if the deputies accept the Frenchman for lord. All the Catholics are rejoiced at the prospect of peace, as many of them are utterly ruined in this civil war. If it be impeded by the Prince of Orange, they will leave the other provinces and cities who adhere to his party, to bear the whole burden of the war.

"I know from good sources that the said prince has lost his authority terribly, since the fall of Maestricht (which gained him a bad reputation for having delivered so many thousand persons to butchery while they trusted to his promises of speedy relief). Many think that he

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 40. Des Traos to the landgrave.

repents ever having set foot out of Holland and Zealand, not now being able to withdraw with honour, although he does not feel himself any too safe in Antwerp, where the affection of the commune for him is wonderfully diminished. All this is why, hoping to strengthen himself, he turns now to the French, into whose hands, if he sees no other remedy, he will undoubtedly deliver the country, on such considerations, I wager, that the tiller will always remain in his hands.

"I enclose herewith an anonymous letter—the writer calling himself of Brussels—lately sent to the estates. The messenger who brought it to Antwerp did not wait for an answer as he feared being ill rewarded. It was read aloud before the general assembly of the states, in the presence of the prince, who thought this was something that touched him, as indeed it did. They say that the scribe or secretary of the council who began to read, recognising, after getting into it, what the drift of the paper was, wanted, two or three times, from very shame, to cease reading, in which he was supported by several members of the states. But the said prince would not permit this, and finally he took the letter himself, and looking as if it did not relate at all to him, finished reading it to the very last word. The intention is, as your Excellency can see, to bring the prince into universal discredit."

As Groen suggests, it was probably on this occasion that the following scene occurred, as recorded in the minutes of the states-general[1]:

"In the presence of all states, etc., assembled, the prince declared that no one desired peace more than he,

[1] *Archives*, vii., 42. *Rés. des États-Gén.*, July 28th.

and that the above rumour was a simple calumny. The deputies of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, Tournay, Tournaisis, Utrecht, and Groningen affectionately assured his Excellency of their trust and begged him to pay no attention to such calumnies and false rumours, but to continue to aid the 'generality' both in peace and war."[1]

No wonder that Orange was almost ready to throw up the game. The constant suspicion and distrust from every side were too much for mortal man to bear. Besides this cruel burden of calumny, the difficulty of taking action weighed very heavily upon Orange. The deputies of the provinces often came without power to act. Time was lost by the necessity of their returning to consult their constituents, and the government stood still.[2]

In this period of reaction, defection, and treachery, Orange greatly needed the assistance of his brother. John's judgment did not, indeed, always agree with that of the prince, but his loyalty and affection were unimpeachable. Still, he felt himself a foreigner in the Netherlands, and his desire to return home was increased by the fact that his wife had died in July, and his estates were left without a head. The Dillenburg household had gone on smoothly under the efficient rule of Countess Elizabeth, whom the dowager Juliana had loved as dearly as her own daughters, as she wrote affectionately to John.[3] The mother found

[1] In September Orange again felt called upon to defend himself. —Groen, *Archives*, vii., 94.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Juliana to John, August 25th.—*Ibid.*, 62.

the task difficult for her strength, but she assures her son that she will do the best that she can, adding that thus far the children are well.

As the immediate prospects of peace again vanished, the question of asking Anjou to return on more favourable conditions, was again agitated. John drew up the following memorandum[1] in his own hand, on the advantages and disadvantages of the negotiation with the Duke of Anjou:

Incommoda.

1. Contrary to reason and equity for this land to leave its natural sovereign.
2. Spaniards and French should be outlawed alike.
3. It is better to remain under a tyrant who was born your lord, than to adopt a foreign despot.
4. French and Spaniards are really under one cover and will soon unite.
5. The art and nature of this gentleman are well known.
6. It is against God to ally oneself with such a godless gentleman, and no luck can be expected from so doing.
7. The land may, by this step, fall under the control of the French crown and into servitude.
8. Then it would be separated from the empire against all equity and right.
9. Alençon will never accept the projected articles.
10. When he has accepted them he will not keep to them.
11. Alençon will be very expensive.
12. France will keep the land in a state of war, and make it so as often as they wish.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 48.

13. The country has no inclination for the alliance, and therefore a great commotion is to be apprehended.
14. France has long had an eye upon this country.
15. The populace will not readily submit to this business when it is repugnant to them, as they did in the time of the Emperor Charles.
16. There is no river between this land and France, and the French might do more damage than the Spaniards.
17. It is an invitation to the empire to descend on us.[1]
18. It is a collusion.
19. The French are cunning.

Commoda.

1. The report of this treaty will not only trouble the king, but also the empire, and will promote the peace negotiations.
2. The two kings will be brought into conflict.
3. France will be less to be dreaded.
4. Spain will be plunged into great trouble and expense, and will have to fight in Spain, Italy, and Burgundy.
5. This land will thereby be freed from the Spaniards and presumably from their wars, as they would be engaged elsewhere.
6. The Spaniards will have less credit, money, etc., to spare.
7. We can treat sooner with the malcontents.
8. Religion will be safer.
9. The privileges will not only be maintained, but increased.
10. The empire will really be benefited when this land is freed from its present straits, and has France as a bulwark.
11. The empire would have to look out if the Span-

[1] Dass man das Reich auf sich lade.

iards got this land under hand. They would have to beware of the inquisition, and consider that these provinces and the hereditary possessions of the Houses of Austria and Burgundy might be erected into a monarchy.

12. The papists will be not a little weakened and the Holy League will be dispersed.

13. Although Alençon has nothing good in mind, still he will not have either the power or the means to do injury like the others, because he will be afraid of the Spaniards. Moreover, he would have not only the Protestants in this land, but his own Huguenots, besides the Protestants of England and Germany, hanging on his neck, and would have to look out that he came up to the mark; besides it is to be hoped that, if he keeps faith, he will, in time, come to other lands,[1] and possibly to the imperial crown.

14. If Alençon broke faith and committed perjury he would have nothing to gain and a great deal to lose.

15. Precisely because we know his character, and that of his family, we can foresee, be prudent, and trust less on that very account. *Nam tela prævisa minus feriunt.*

16. We have better means of protection than have the Huguenots in France.

17. Alençon does not possess such reputation and favour as Spain, and if he does not keep faith we will be freed from obligations towards him.

18. If this treaty with Alençon be completed, Spain will be severed from this land, and, thereby, the treachery which lurks behind this peace treaty, whereby the land will certainly be deceived and exposed to great dangers, will be hindered.

[1] Marriage with Elizabeth.

John seems to have been given to helping himself think by paper. There is another autograph memorandum in his handwriting, dated November, in which the same line of argument is continued, only more weight is given to the *incommoda*. It is very evident that second thoughts had increased his dislike for and dread of the French alliance. He says[1] sententiously:

"Changes are always dangerous especially when there is nothing good to hope from them. . . . *Quod non sint facienda mala ut eveniant bona.* . . . If a head must be found, why not choose him from the land, one whose religion is known, one skilled in affairs, one devoted to the country; *in summa*, a man born to be trusted, above corruption, and not prone to look out for his private interests?"

There is no doubt whom John had in mind. The prince could have had himself made ruler at this time, but he did not wish it; did not believe it was practicable from any point of view, and the foundation of the republic was thus unnecessarily postponed.

Amidst all this talking, some steps were taken towards a new form of government. In October, Orange proposed the creation of an executive council, consisting of two or more colleges, which should divide responsibility with the archduke and the Prince of Orange. He proposed that the estates of the united provinces should nominate double the required number of councillors, out of which number the governor and Orange were to make the ap-

[1] Groen, *Archives* vii., 162.

pointments. Their decisions were to be according to a majority of votes, and there was to be no secret cabinet behind their deliberations. The matter was discussed during the autumn of 1579, but the resolution embodying the plan was not, however, drawn up until December 27th, and the final result was somewhat different from the original scheme.

In 1566, Orange had eluded Philip's summons to come and be tried. Since that time he had advanced by degrees to a more prominent position in the land than he had then dreamed of. He had been treated by his enemies on a dignified footing for some years. But in November, Philip wrote to Parma,[1] saying:

"My good nephew, as it is now known that the Prince of Orange is the one who, by his tricks, has prevented the accord and thereby the repose of the country, to the great harm of those," etc. . . . "it seems to me that it will be proper to make war against him by all the means imaginable," etc.

The result of this letter appeared in the following year.

Orange did not find time to answer John's voluminous epistles and warnings.[2] On December 8th, he writes a short note,[3] saying that he had read them carefully, and wishes that John would come to see him and talk over matters. The good count

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 166.

[2] He wrote many lengthy expositions of the situation in Guelderland.—*Ibid.*, 120–124.

[3] *Ibid.*, 176.

was being torn in every direction. Orange would not let him go from the provinces, and he found it very difficult to arrange from a distance for the education of his numerous family, whom he wants to see happy.

Every item in regard to the children is referred to him. In answer to a question about one little girl, he writes that he knows Maria cries more easily than the other children, but he prefers that no notice should be taken of it, as she will outgrow the childish habit soon. Still it is probable that the strongest reason for the count's decision to return to his children was not their need of his fatherly guidance, but the fact that he did not approve his brother's policy. He felt that the cause of Netherland liberty was doomed, and that the prince's so-called tolerance was, as he expressed himself, lending an ear to the devil.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BAN.

1580.

IN January, Orange made a stirring appeal to the states-general. "Notwithstanding the fact that I have repeatedly pointed out to you, by word of mouth and in writing (as, indeed, your records can testify), what necessities threaten us, once again must I revert to the subject."[1] In vigorous terms he then sketched the situation, and touched on the proposed colleges. There was no doubt that a central council, a superior college with power to act, needed to be established immediately. War was upon them. Irresolution was at the root of all their ills.

[1] The speech sounds as though it were reported. Gachard (*Cor.*, iv., 196) takes it from a pamphlet entitled *Remonstrance faite à messieurs les deputez des états généraux, le ix. Janvier 1580, par monseigneur le prince d'Orange, chez Giles Vanden Rade à l'anneau d'or sur le Vleminx-Velt.* The document is not found in any archives. The substance of this speech had been given November 26, 1579. In spite of it, the states-general were about to separate without taking action. Hence this remonstrance on January 9th.

"It is not so strange that we have lost a single city as that, in our disorganised condition, we have lost but one. Organisation and central power, gentlemen, we must have, and this fact I beg you to consider, and to report to your constituents. Bear in mind, too, what I have said before, and what you have seen in times of stress. Everyone who finds himself in a tight place comes to me, as if I had everything in my hand, while I am forced to see suffering, and know that I am powerless to act."

He mentioned briefly the articles drafted at Cologne, which it did not become them to accept, the falling off of former friends to the national cause, and other complications that threatened them.

"Begging you again, gentlemen, to believe that this is no mere oration, but that I speak of existing calamities, which threaten to bury you in their ruins if you let them fall. I speak plainly, to the end that, if evil come, I may not be at fault. Nevertheless, whatever the issue, believe, by the grace of God, that I am resolved to live and die with you."

A few days later he wrote[1] to the four members of Flanders, pointing out that the whole object of the states-general was frustrated, when the deputies came with insufficient authorisation. "Above all, choose representatives who have the cause of our fatherland at heart, and who are capable of laying aside private and partisan interests." As he had said before, the deputies acted like advocates retained by the provinces or cities to urge their individual claims or to protect their local interests, instead of

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 208.

advising together for public weal like councillors to whom public matters were entrusted.

This remonstrance did not bring the assembly at once to the prince's views, but it was not without its effect. The states-general dissolved well disposed towards the French alliance, but they had taken no action.[1] Each province had to be convinced individually that each would receive advantage in particular. They still had a vague fear that the interests of the "generality" did not represent the sum of the interests of the local governments.

Towards the end of January Orange set out for Holland. Matthias accompanied him and was richly entertained at the old Nassau palace in Breda, where they stopped, as the first stage of their journey. On February 1st, they went on to The Hague, which they reached in one day.[2] It was three years since the prince had been in Holland. The affectionate reception he met with must have been a great pleasure after the cold distrust that he had lately experienced in Brabant. His object in the journey was twofold. He hoped to persuade his own provinces to accept Anjou. In this he was unsuccessful. Holland and Zealand could not forget St. Bartholomew, and held resolutely aloof, in spite of the many arguments presented to them, like Count John's parallel

[1] Orange did not depend on the reports of the deputies to their constituents. In order to ensure general knowledge of the deliberations he sent drafts of the articles concerning the council and the reception of Anjou to the various provinces.—Groen, *Archives*, vii., 203.

[2] *Ibid.*; Bor, iii., 160. A year later Farnese took Breda by storm and gave it over to pillage.

columns of advantages and disadvantages. The prince's second purpose was to convince his brother that private matters ought to yield to public need.

Count John met Orange at The Hague and consented to remain at least a little longer in lower Germany. On February 8th, he wrote to Dr. Schwarz that he had not the heart to desert the prince, and on the same day to his councillors, in regard to the disposition of his motherless children [1]:

"I do not agree with you that none of my daughters should go to the Landgrave William, because the landgravine is young and delicate; and because children cannot be properly cared for in such a court. I prefer that my children should be accustomed in their youth to discipline and to some privation, rather than have them too tenderly nurtured. Nor is it advisable to decline kind offers for petty reasons. . . . As regards the little boys, I approve your plan of sending them for a short time, at least, to the house of one of our brothers-in-law, choosing the one where the young people are best brought up. Our heavy household expenses can then be cut down, and the children can learn morals and obedience, while they are still too young for study. In course of time they can come here, and become at home in the language before they begin regular lessons." [2]

The advance of the negotiations with Anjou continued to trouble some of Orange's adherents greatly.

[1] From Leyden. Groen, *Archives*, vii., 207. The second letter is from Utrecht. He was evidently on his way back from The Hague.

[2] John felt very poor. In May, Dr. Schwendi informs him that Fräulein Juliana is with the landgravine, "Where, thank God, she will be quite free from expense." *Ibid.*, 358.

The following letter from Lazarus Schwendi expressed the sentiment of many people on the subject[1]:

"MONSEIGNEUR: My silence does not proceed from lack of heart or affection, but from the times, and the danger of writing. . . . Col. Claus Halstat, bearer of this, will tell you, in my behalf, certain things concerning not only your honour and reputation, but your conscience and duty towards God and man, and especially towards the fatherland. Up to now you have been marvellously aided by God and by men. I beg your Excellency to use your fortune reverently, and not to despair of the future, nor to embrace desperate remedies without the direst necessity, which has not yet been apparent. By God's grace, a new ray of hope is visible, that your affairs will have a reasonable and tolerable issue, better far than you could have hoped. *Do not go too far with the slippery and fraudulent French*, under whose sail neither state nor prince has ever come to port. Await patiently the new treaty of peace, which will secure you, I hope, what has hitherto been refused, especially since you are not in immediate danger and can provide for your safety. Do not commit the grave error of driving out the archduke, whose presence has preserved your authority through confusion. Believe me, you could not have held out without him. I firmly trust that you will be left to govern freely, and to permit the free exercise of religion, if you are careful.

"On the other hand, if you come to an agreement with the French, you and yours will be abhorred by everyone. Believe me, if God blind men, their destruction is at hand.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 228.

Blindness comes when they forsake the straight and better way, and take that which is false and crooked. There will be a different feeling against the French than against the Spanish king, who is their natural lord, and can justify himself in various ways. But I will not enlarge on the subject, and will rely for the rest on the bearer, Claus Halstat, begging your Excellency to take my admonition in good part, etc.

"Your devoted, etc., servant,

"LAZARUS DE SCHWENDI.

"KUENSHEIM, Feb. 27th."

The first answer that Orange drafted to this letter and to the verbal messages, was so bitter against Germany's lukewarmness in aiding her fellow Protestants, that he judged it inexpedient to send it.[1] The letter finally dispatched was more moderate.[2] He thanks Schwendi for his good wishes, which are grateful, "as just now I find myself abandoned and poor, not only in aid, but also in advice." Then, in round, unvarnished terms, he proceeds to show why he cannot accept the counsel offered him:

"Those who owed us assistance have turned a deaf ear to our prayers. What can we hope from reform within the Church? Germany's experience has proved the utter futility of any such scheme. Did not the Council of Trent drag on as long as the trunks of ten elephants, and was not the end a flat condemnation of Protestants as heretics and excommunicated people? These lands are in more danger than is Germany. If you realise, as you seem to do in your letter, that it is impossible to remedy the troubles without granting free

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 239. [2] *Ibid.*, 230.

exercise of religion, I fail to see your ray of good hope, as there is the same disposition as ever to root out pure religion. In my simple judgment, your phrase can be turned 'when God blinds men, their ruin is at hand.' For they [the enemies of religion] will not see the deplorable condition of Christendom, the ruin of flourishing states, and the advance of the Turks, and think only of extirpating those whom they ought to protect.[1] So, monsieur, it seems to me that if this land, seeing itself so ill treated, resolves to change its prince,—which I am not yet sure it will do,—the blame should be cast on those who are the cause, and not on the poor sufferers.

"And if, in this case, they find themselves obliged to abandon the archduke—whose humble servant I am, and I would feel more than any living man if harm or indignity came to him—it is not their fault, but the fault of those who from lightness of heart,[2] or from some trivial reason, have withdrawn their hand from him, and abandoned him entirely. Is it not true that his imperial Majesty refused to acknowledge his title of governor, which other strangers accorded him? Also, in this last treaty at Cologne, his Majesty's commissioners were surprised that the states-general of this land demanded him for governor, and rejected that article entirely. Besides, not only by connivance, but also by express testimony, verbally and in writing, they have approved the act of the provinces who separated from the 'generality' of the estates, and allied themselves to Spain, by which his Highness was deprived of his governorship with the same frivolity with which they summoned him, without even informing their allies of their action.

[1] Schwendi had said that help would be given by Germany. This is the prince's answer.

[2] *Gayeté de cœur*.

"If the emperor and princes made so little of having approved his rejection, what hope could be given to the people, of aid from him, abandoned by every one, even by those who are the nearest, and have the strongest reason to wish him to remain? What fault can be imputed to those if, in their necessity, they turn to another? Everyone knows that I have done my best to honour him, though I was not consulted on his coming. . . . Schwarzburg and M. Prunier assured me that, if I could hold the treaty with M. Anjou in abeyance for three months, I would do service to the House of Austria.—The negotiation has not only been delayed three months, but nearly two whole years, by which any one can see that we have not thrown ourselves headlong into the arms of the French. His Majesty had plenty of time to come to a decision had he wished. You undoubtedly mean well, but there are pensioners of Spain about the Austrian court who have done their best to do us damage.

"As to the slippery and fraudulent nature of the French, pray, what title can be given to the Spaniards and the Spanishised, who have thrown not only their subjects, but their allies into servitude and destitution? The reputation of those who had these provinces under their domination is far worse than the fame of those who united Brittany, Guienne, Burgundy, or Piedmont to France."

The tone of this letter was the more bitter, as just at this time the treachery of Rennenberg, whom John of Nassau mentioned as being, besides himself, Orange's only trustworthy friend, culminated in a *coup d'état* by which, on the night of March 3d, he possessed himself of the city of Groningen, and went

over to Parma. This was the severest loss the patriots had suffered in all the defection of the years 1579 and 1580.[1]

Orange prolonged his stay in Holland through the month of March. He was received with especial warmth at Amsterdam, and kindly treated in the other towns. During this journey Charlotte remained at Antwerp, and acted as her husband's viceroy.[2] The prince ordered that all papers should be shown to her before being forwarded.

The discussion of the Anjou alliance seems to have gone on openly, with little reference to the archduke.[3] All sorts of biblical and classical authorities were ransacked for arguments for and against Anjou. Aldegonde argues in one passage:

"When they say we must trust all to God after doing what we can, they contradict themselves; for if we ought to rely on God we must see in His holy word what God is accustomed to do, and in the current events what God offers us. He has *not* promised to give us a king or prince who is of the true religion, as that is not His way of action. On the contrary, He means to keep His people vigilant. He has often given a defender or foreign liberator who had not knowledge of God, wishing that His people be content with this favour, inasmuch

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 196, 204. One of the reasons for his defection alleged by Rennenberg, and which was probably the true one, was his fear of Nassau influence. "Every government of importance will be given to a Nassau, forsooth, and leave us the small places."

[2] *Ibid.*, 264.

[3] He returned to Antwerp and wrote many plaintive letters to Orange.

as the prince He gives them does not persecute God's people."

This was the line of argument taken by many preachers who handled the subject in hydra-headed sermons and in verbose pamphlets.

In the end of March, an assembly of the states of Holland met at The Hague.[1] They wished to maintain the position they had taken in 1576. They had practically renounced allegiance to Philip then. Now they were willing to erase his name from their records, but they were not inclined to write in that of Anjou. It is one of the contradictions in history, that in the very region where the prince was strongest in personal influence, his opinion in this important matter had the least weight. Holland had never followed him in recognising Matthias, and did not wish to do so in treating with Anjou.

On March 29th, the states resolved that the names of the Prince of Orange and the states should be put at the head of all official acts. They further desired to give him the old title of Count of Holland.[2] These resolutions remained secret, however, and the assembly finally yielded to the prince's entreaty to consider the negotiations with Anjou. By April 7th, Orange left The Hague and returned to Antwerp. He felt, on the whole, that his journey had been suc-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 305. Great efforts were made to have this an important meeting. All the little towns were summoned to assist.

[2] Holland, without wishing to break with the 'generality,' or to leave the Union of Utrecht, wanted to form a little republic with the prince as chief.—*Ibid.*, 306.

cessful. In the ban published against him shortly afterwards, this expedition was mentioned as revolutionary and incendiary. This he indignantly denies, but it is true that his personal presence was able to accomplish what no wordy proclamations could. In spite of Rennenberg's defection, in spite of all the small differences over the land, there was in 1580, certainly, a prospect of an independent government, though the prince's dream of a United Netherlands was fading away.

John's letters of this month to his officers at Dillenburg, are full of anxiety about his children whom he cannot forget in the midst of his state cares. Evidently, however, he speedily thought that it was too great a burden for a man to bear alone, and looked about to see what worthy dame was free to help him. His first thoughts on the matter came very quickly on his loss, as may be seen from the following letter[1] to his faithful friend Dr. Schwarz:

"Dear Doctor: In order to have your advice freely on a certain matter, I will not conceal from you a vision I had about it. On the 21st of last July, I was very anxious at having had no news from my sainted spouse. Just as I was going to bed I called my servants in to know what they had heard from her Excellency, and felt, although they would answer nothing, that all was not well with her. Then I went to sleep, very heavy hearted, and that same night I thought I was married again to the Fräulein[2] we were speaking of, and dreamed it so often that I was annoyed. On the following morning when the sad tidings were announced to me by my serv-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 323. Condensed.

[2] Kunigunde, daughter of the Elector Palatine.

ants and the prince's messenger, sorrow made me forget my dream ; but after the lapse of several months, when the dowager electress was suggested to me among others, not only did that dream occur to me, but also this fact. As far as I know I have never spoken a word to the maiden all the days of my life, but I remember hearing both from my sainted spouse and from the prince's daughter, that she had quite an inclination for me. Once she sent me a message through my late wife and my niece that I might always trust her. Of course, my marriage with the old electress would be pious, virtuous, and on many accounts might be advisable for me ; moreover she has borne her cross, knows how to treat gentlemen and when she should be patient,[1] but as she has already had two husbands and is rather older and taller than I am, I do not feel altogether drawn towards her.

" The prince rather favours the old one, while the princess and the prince's daughter prefer the young lady. So I have come to the conclusion you will see in the enclosed instructions. Will you, in as quiet a manner as possible, make inquiries about this person, what kind of a mind, head, and character she has, and then talk to my mother about it at the first opportunity ? If there be no reason why such a marriage should not take place with conscience and honour, just begin the negotiations. Do not allow any needless gossip [*allerhand unnütz Geschwetz*]."

On April 9th, John sends Count Ernest Schauenberg a long epistle.[2] After descanting on affairs in general, he says:

[1] As is shown elsewhere, John had grown very irascible and realised that his wife would need patience.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, VII., 327.

"The states-general will meet in eight or ten days to discuss three points: item,—government for the whole Netherlands; item,—the better maintenance of military affairs; item,—how to come to an understanding with Alençon. The land is loath to take this step, but there is no other alternative, etc., etc. The prince, thank God, is pretty well, and so are his wife and children. He is in fairly good spirits in spite of incredible labours, dangers, and fatigues. You could not believe that any man could endure so much, and you would rejoice if you could see him. His two eldest daughters are not yet married; perhaps something will be done about it soon. Count Gunther [1] and his wife are fairly well, as times go. His Honour manages to have plenty to eat and drink, and to gather a pleasant company around him. Nothing is lacking to him except that he is not well paid by these lands, and he is often tormented with the gout, and my sister with the toothache.[2] If his debts were only paid up they would certainly lead a stately existence. Until that happens, his Honour, as well as I, is driven to borrow money from time to time, and he is often forced to send both his plate and my sister's jewels on a little pleasure trip.[3] As for myself, I keep fresh and sound, but am very poor, and tired out with so much work. If I wanted titles, or were willing to enrich myself without remorse or consideration for the nation's stress, I have had opportunities enough to do so," etc.

In May, John took his final resolution and resigned his offices in Guelderland. He wrote to his brother [4]

[1] Count Gunther of Schwarzburg, husband of Catherine of Nassau.

[2] John seems to be sarcastic here.

[3] "Das silbergeschir und meine schwester kleinodien spatsieren gehen lassen."

[4] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 341, 343. The count's last service as

that the burden was too heavy for him, and that his home affairs demanded his presence. He wanted peace, and to be married to Kunigunde, that maiden who had appeared so opportunely in his dreams, and he was probably urged to hasten his wooing from the following passage in a letter[1] from Dr. Schwarz:

"I understand, from a trusty friend, that the said young person has had an offer from a count of East Friesland, whom she rejected because of difference in religion and for other reasons." To relieve his anxiety about his household expenses, the good doctor continues: "Fräulein Juliana is now under the care of the Landgrave William's wife, without costing us a penny. Fräulein Marie thought she would stay by the old lady-mother until Count Gunther's arrival."

The old lady-mother needed no one to stay with her long.

In June, Orange wrote[2] a little letter to her, begging her to forgive him for being so lax a correspondent, which he knows she would do, if she could see how deeply he was immersed in business. He had bidden Marie to write her all details. He was ill with fever for several days, but is better now. By the same courier, Charlotte sends a respectfully affectionate letter.[3] She speaks of the prince's enormous absorption in business, his fever, and his recovery:

"As to myself, madam, I am as usual, and am happy with our big and little children, and only wish I might

stadtholder, and one that he counted as very valuable, was his endeavour to have an evangelical bishop elected at Münster.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 358.

[2] *Ibid.*, 366.

[3] June 8th. *Ibid.*, 368.

have the honour of seeing you once more in this life. My eldest daughter, Louise Juliana, says that you would love her the best because she has your name. She begins to speak German, and is tall for her age."

These letters were the last ever written to the mother, who had given so many hostages to fortune, and yet passed away without one son near her. Juliana died on June 18th, in her seventy-sixth year, leaving behind her one hundred and twenty-three children[1] and grandchildren. She was a woman of sturdy character, and had left her impress on all the sons and daughters whom she had sent out into the world. Her letters have shown what was her life, and her personality. While she was still vigorous, she had made the long journey to Brabant several times. Her later years were spent in Dillenburg, where she was a loved and honoured member of the household.

His mother's death hastened John's departure, upon which, however, he had already decided. In July, he joyfully took his way back to his paternal estates, where he had affairs in his own hand, and where he would not be called upon to "break his head" over unsolvable problems, or to attempt to satisfy a rebellious and uneasy people. His marriage plans were pushed forward rapidly. His friendly councillors gave him advice to his taste, and decided that the late Elector Palatine's daughter was a fitter bride for John than her step-mother.[2] Dr. Schwarz

[1] Bor. iii. 431. Hoofd xx. 907.

[2] The dowager was Emilia de Nuenar, who was Henry Brederode's widow before she married the Elector Palatine.—Groen, *Archives*, vii., 362.

thought that the count's dream should have weight. He added that the difference in height was another important point, as "it would look odd to see the countess taller than the count, when they were in company or walking on the street together."[1]

In August the betrothal was celebrated, and the marriage was appointed for September 3d. Orange writes[2] on August 27th, an affectionate letter of congratulation, only regretting that his wife and daughter could not be among the wedding guests. He sends George de Wittgenstein as his personal representative.

Charlotte, too, writes cordially.[3] She had known the bride at Heidelberg, where she always "loved her as a sister." In both these letters, John's residence in Germany is referred to as temporary, but John had no wish to return to the medley in the Netherlands. On August 29th, he writes to the landgrave[4] that the country has plunged in so deeply with Alençon that it will never get out. He would evidently have preferred his brother's acceptance of the oft offered sovereignty. John had said that only he and Rennenberg stood by the prince. Now, again, the prince was left alone, left with the whole weight of the responsibility which he could not toss lightly from his mind, as Count John had done.[5]

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[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 363.

[2] *Ibid.*, 386.

[3] *Ibid.*, 389.

[4] *Ibid.*, 390.

[5] In the month of August, William, one of John's sons, was wounded before Coevorden. Orange mentions this in a letter (Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 246) to the Union of Utrecht, as a proof of the devotion of the whole Nassau family to the cause of the Netherlands.

When the negotiations at Cologne had failed, Philip determined to treat the man whom his brother had assured him held the whole country in his hand, in a different manner. Early in the year Granvelle wrote[1] to Margaret of Parma that he was rejoiced indeed at Philip's resolution to put a price on the prince's head. "This offer (30,000 crowns for Orange, dead or alive) will frighten him to death, as he is well known to be an arrant coward." In March, this "happy resolution" bore fruits in a new edict against Orange, which, however, was not promulgated in the Netherlands until June.[2]

In this document Philip told his story, how good his government had been, except when Alva had gone beyond his instructions and had imposed unwarrantable taxation, how Orange had taken advantage of that mistake and hastened to the Netherlands to excite the people to rebellion, how he had only been admitted on his promise to remain loyal to the king and to maintain the Catholic religion. The prince had broken all his promises to man and to God. He had married an abbess during the lifetime of his legitimate wife. Philip had left no efforts

[1] Jan. 3d. Groen, *Archives*, vii., 193.

[2] "Ban et Edict en forme de Proscription fait par la majestie du roy nostre sire alen-contre de Guillaume de Nassau, prince d'Orange, comme chef et perturbateur de l'estat de la Christienté et spécialle-ment de ces Pays-Bas, par lequel chacun est authorisé de l'offenser et oster de ce monde, comme peste publique, avec pris à qui le fera et y assistera." This was printed at Louvain. I have used an edition of *L'Apologie*, published in 1858, to which this ban and other documents are added. Lettenhove says that Granvelle must be considered the author of this document.—*Les Huguenots*, etc., vi., 85.

untried to check and to pacify the restless and contumacious rebel, the one hostile element among his loving subjects. His late beloved brother had sent messenger after messenger to try and bring this one man to terms. Orange did not want peace. He had gone deeper and deeper in rebellion and had had himself elected Ruward of Brabant by a tumultuous assembly.

"Therefore, for all these just reasons, for his evil doings as chief disturber of the public peace and as a public pest . . . we banish him forever and forbid all our subjects to visit or communicate with him in public or in secret. . . . We declare him an enemy of the human race . . . and in order the sooner to remove our people from his tyranny and oppression, we promise on the word of a king and as God's servant, that if one of our subjects be found so generous of heart and so desirous of doing us service and the public, good, who has any means of executing this ordinance and ridding us of this said pest, either by delivering him to us quick or dead, or by depriving him at once of life, *in any way*, we will give him or his heirs, landed estates or cash at his desire, to the amount of 20,000 golden crowns. If he has committed any crime—of any kind whatever—we will pardon him; if he be not noble, we will ennoble him for his valour, and if the principal takes other persons for his assistance in his enterprise, we will reward them according to the service rendered, pardon their crimes, and ennoble them too."

This proclamation was sent to the Netherlands with orders that it should be published by the governors, "so that none can claim ignorance." The

Prince of Parma was very loath to do his uncle's bidding in regard to this ban. He thought it was possible that Orange might win more sympathy than obloquy if he were so publicly offered as a mark for the dagger of any assassin. He had proposed to take advice of the reconciled provinces on the subject.[1] Philip set aside this suggestion, but Parma did not hasten to execute the final commands. He wrote to the governors on June 15th, but the paper was not printed until July 2d, and not really published by the councils until late in August.

The reply made by the prince to this famous or infamous ban has been frequently referred to in the course of this story.[2] It is known as *The Apology*, though there is nothing humbly apologetic in the argument. Though it is written in the first person as coming direct from the prince, it is said to have been the work of a reformed minister, Pierre Villiers.[3] This man may have prepared the document for publication, and he may have worked up the peroration, but the mark of the prince's hand and mind is evident throughout the composition, to any one familiar with his letters. It certainly is not a

[1] Philip's first suggestion was made in a letter of November 30, 1579, to which Parma responded in January, 1580 (Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 19–24). He sends a draft for a ban, but does not wholly approve.

[2] Orange was at Antwerp when he heard of this ban. Before composing his answer he consulted many people, especially the council of Holland and Zealand.—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., xl., and 37.

[3] Pierre l'Oyseleur or de Villiers.—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., xliii.; Groen, *Archives*, vii., 452. Lettenhove considers that it was drafted by Villiers and corrected by Hubert Languet.—*Les Huguenots*, etc., vi., 90.

monument of literary style, but it is a vigorous, vehement self-defence, an explanation made to the states-general, as alone having the right to judge of his actions. The self-restraint hitherto manifested by Orange in his letters is cast aside here. There is no trace of respect for the divine right of kings in this paper. Philip is addressed as a man by a fellow-man, and his character is painted with a daring pen. All the crimes, indeed, that had been imputed to him were referred to as facts.[1]

Orange reviews the whole story of his life, and his relations with the late emperor and the present king; defends his every loyal action up to the time of Alva's coming, and justifies himself in his disloyal course since that date, as he claims that Philip had forfeited all his hereditary rights to the individual provinces by his violation of the time-honoured charters of the land. He quoted Demosthenes in saying that distrust was the bulwark of a nation against tyranny. Philip himself had planted distrust deep in the hearts of his would-be obedient subjects, and a free people had revolted, as they had done before in similar but far less aggravated circumstances. He reminds Philip that "I was born a free lord and have the honour of bearing the name of an absolute prince, although my principality is not of great extent." He points out that the imposition of the taxes had been unfair, unjust and entirely

[1] De Thou (lxxi., 363) considers that these portions are far too bitter. Voltaire characterises the whole document as "un des plus beaux monuments de l'histoire."—*Essai sur des Mœurs*, etc., iii., 495.

illegal, but that the people had protested, too, against the suppression of liberty of conscience. He defends bitterly his personal reputation.

"It suffices for me to say in one word before you, gentlemen, and before all Europe, that every Spaniard or Spanishised person, no matter of what rank he may be, who says, or who will say, as this infamous proscription proclaims, that I am a traitor and a miscreant, that same person has spoken falsely and against the truth. . . . If you, gentlemen, judge that either my absence or my death can serve you, I am ready to submit to your judgment. Here is my head, over which no prince nor monarch but you has control. Dispose of it for your welfare, for the preservation of your republic. But if you judge that the mediocre experience and industry which I have acquired by patient toil, if you judge that the remnant of my property and my life can serve you, take them and let us work together for the defence of this good people. If you will continue the favour you have hitherto shown me, make your resolution for the preservation of this land and '*je le maintiendrai.*'"

In December, the states-general assembled at Delft. On the 13th, the following letter from the prince was read, though he himself was present, accompanied by Count Hohenlohe and several friends.[1]

"MESSIEURS: You have seen a certain sentence in form of a proscription, sent hither by the King of Spain, and published by order of the Prince of Parma. As, by this, my enemies have tried to assail my honour and attack

[1] Hoofd, xvii., 675.

my past actions, I have taken the advice of many notable persons, especially the chief councillors of the land. . . . I am advised to do nothing to satisfy my honour but to publish a writing showing how unjustly I have been accused. According to their advice, gentlemen, as I recognise you alone as my superiors, I present to you my defence against the accusation of my adversaries, in which I not only unmask their imposture and calumnies, but also legally justify all my past actions."

He ends by saying that he had offered his resignation again and again, but he was ready in the future as in the past, to lay down his life for the country's good, and he begged them to let his paper see light, so that "the whole world may judge of the equity of my cause and the injustice of my adversaries."

One Zomer, advocate of Ghent, then read the *Apology* to the assembly.[1] On the succeeding days they discussed the ban, which they decided was as insulting to them as to the prince. On the 17th, their resolutions were drawn up by I. Houfflin[2]— Complete confidence was expressed in the prince. His answer contained nothing but the truth. He had accepted his offices at their entreaties and they refused to consider his resignation.[3]

[1] Hoofd, xvii., 675.

[2] *Rés. des États-Gén.*, December 13th, 14th, 17th, and 19th; Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 41.

It is somewhat incomprehensible that the states-general had not seen the ban earlier. "Les États-généraus aiants *depuis quelques jours* veu et leu une proscription," etc. This phrase may have been only a formula.

[3] The deputies of Guelderland and Utrecht did not think that they

On January 25th, the prince wrote[1] again to the states:

"You know, messieurs, I have not answered all the libels issued against me, but this proscription could not be overlooked. Since my defence was written, a false letter, forged by my enemies, has fallen into my hands, which was said to have been sent by me to the Duke of Anjou, or as they say, Duke of Alençon, and intercepted by them. Various copies have now been sent over Christendom. This letter is so uncouthly written as regards style and subject, that anyone, by casual reading, might discover that there is no appearance of truth, and that it is only an impudent invention, unworthy of answer."

This letter referred to, was one of the many forgeries that played a prominent part in the political history of the day.[2] In it occurs the following sentence:

"As to religion, that is plain and clear. No sovereign who hopes to come to any great advancement ought to consider religion, or hold it in regard. Your Highness, by means of the garrisons and fortresses, will easily be master of the principal cities in Flanders and Brabant,

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were authorised to sign this *Apostille*, without reference to their constituents.

"Die anwesenden Staden alhier aus Brabandt, Flandern, Mechlen, Gelderlandt, Holland, Frieslandt und Stifft Utrecht, haben meins Hern Printzen *Apologia* . . . allerdings approbirt, und gutt gefunden das dieselbig im öffentlichen druck möge gegeben werden." —A. Christiani to Count John, December 22, 1580. Groen, *Archives*, vii., 480.

[1] *Apologie*, etc,, p. 37.

[2] Orange to Anjou.—Bor, iii, 239; Groen, *Archives*, vii., 380.

even if the citizens opposed you. *Afterwards you can compel them without difficulty to any religion* which may seem conducive to the interests of your Highness."

Had credence been given to the authenticity of this letter, the effect on the Protestant mind must have been disastrous. Luckily, it was at once counted as a forgery by the majority.[1]

Undoubtedly Orange willingly gave voice to all his suppressed bitterness against Spain, because he saw an opportunity of pushing matters to a crisis. There was method in his violence. The negotiations with Anjou had gone on energetically during the summer months, and in September, a deputation from the states, with Aldegonde at the head, made their way to France to tender the sovereignty to the Duke of Anjou. Three weeks later[2] an accord, known as the Treaty of Plessis les Tours, was duly signed between the Protestant provinces and the fourth son of Catherine de Medici. Having under-

[1] During the autumn and winter of 1580–81 Rennenberg was carrying on a harrying warfare against his late friends in the north, where Hohenlohe opposed him with the army of the union (Hoofd, xvii., 672). In January he was laying siege to the little town of Steenwyk which held out bravely for the patriots. When this forged letter was circulated, Rennenberg sent a copy into the town with the following note (Meteren, x., 457):

"MOST HONOURABLE, MOST STEADFAST: As, during the present front, you have but little exercise in the trenches—as you cannot pass your time in twirling your finger-rings because you have sold them to pay your soldiers' wages—as you have nothing to rub your teeth upon, nor to scour your stomachs, and as nevertheless you require something to occupy your minds, I send you the enclosed letter in the hope that it may yield amusement."—January 15, 1581.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 400.

taken the mission, Aldegonde spared no pains to make it successful, and he extolled the virtue and wisdom of the new ruler to the skies, in a manner that is somewhat difficult to understand. The two things that made this alliance possible were: (1) that Henry III. seemed disposed to favour the Protestants; (2) that there were fair prospects of a marriage between Elizabeth and Anjou.

There was another Protestant prince in the field who might have been a more advantageous chief had he not been so poor. Henry of Navarre showed himself willing to be friendly to Orange. In December he availed himself of an opportunity to send the prince a line, congratulating him on the news. "We are now preparing to aid the estates. I have promised to accompany Monsieur, to help him, as is the duty of a good compatriot, but the desire I have to see you invites me not the less."

The young archduke was completely disregarded in these transactions, and his position was far from being either honourable or comfortable. He had no money, he could not even go from Antwerp to Delft to join the prince, as he writes pathetically on November 7th.[1] He had been useful to Orange as a figure-head, but his usefulness was at an end, though his feeble voice was heard from time to time in the land.

In the winter, Orange sent his *Apology* to the various European monarchs and princes, with accompanying letters to clear his own reputation further, and to show what was the position of the few Neth-

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, iv., 259 *et al.*

FRANÇOIS OF VALOIS, DUKE OF ANJOU.
(From an old print.)

erland states who were still holding together. With a package of the pamphlets that he forwarded to Count John,[1] the prince urged his brother's return to the provinces. This request was repeated in many other letters, but the doughty John could not be again dislodged from his ancestral hearth, for fraternal love or hopes of honours for his sons. In April he addressed a lengthy memorial to his brother, explaining the reasons for his refusal. The sum of his arguments was, that affairs in the Netherlands were confused, and he saw neither glory nor profit in working longer through the labyrinth. There is a note from John Casimir[2] to John (April 5th), justifying his conduct and congratulating himself and Count John that they two honest Germans were well out of the "confused chaos," and wishing the Netherlands joy of Anjou.

The matter of the central council before referred to, was finally settled in the states-general in January, 1581. Two colleges were established, who were to exercise executive authority from two centres, one on one side, the other on the other side of the Meuse. The states-general were not efficient in executive action, and these smaller bodies were planned to supply that deficiency. It was expressly stipulated that there was to be no interference with the

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 508.

[2] *Ibid.*, 530.

There are two sets of parallel columns of arguments which belong to this time, probably drawn up by John's secretary. 1st. On the relative advantages of Casimir staying by Orange or going over to Spain. 2d. Comparisons between Casimir and Orange, to the advantage of the latter.—*Ibid.*, 549, 550.

states-general, and that Anjou's election should not be in any way impeded. Orange had become so weary of the snail-like doings of the large deliberative body that he had urged the erection of a council, but, undoubtedly, an ulterior idea in establishing this new branch of the administration just at this epoch, was to provide a check on their future governor.

There was, however, another more weighty step to be taken before the final summons could be sounded. On December 30, 1580, the Treaty of Plessis les Tours had been ratified by the states-general in the provinces and further confirmed in France by the Treaty of Bordeaux on January 23, 1581. In the following July the states-general reassembled to complete the work of governmental reconstruction in which these two measures had been the first preparatory steps. Their seat of deliberations was changed from Delft to Amsterdam, from Amsterdam to The Hague. In that city on July 26th, Philip was declared deposed forever from the sovereignty he had so solemnly received from his father a quarter of a century before.[1] The document in which the links between the autocratic Spanish ruler and his dissatisfied subjects were severed, is a memorable one in the world's history. The existence of a social contract between ruler and ruled was assumed, and these Netherland burghers solemnly asserted that the contracting party of the one part, their sovereign,

[1] Groen says: "L'abjuration solennelle par les états-généraux eut lieu à *Amsterdam* le 26 juillet." This seems to be an error. The act given in Bor is dated s' Gravenhage.—Groen, *Archives*, vii., 586. Bor, iii., 276. Strada (ii., 191) gives Antwerp.

having failed to fulfil his obligations, the contracting party of the second part were relieved from all duty towards him and were justified in renouncing, forever, their allegiance to Philip II. of Spain. This declaration, over sixty years before Charles Stuart warred with his Parliament, and two centuries before the American Congress announced their legal independence of George III., was remarkable indeed. Strada characterises this as a deed of infamy [1] which he shudders to describe.

"These Flemings violated the faith which Nature herself teaches each nation to cherish for her legitimate sovereign. Many people trembled with apprehension, which was increased by a terrible earthquake felt over all Flanders and extending even to Paris. Many thought this an evil presage."

The actors in the drama took a different view:

"All men know [so runs the introduction to the document of abjuration] that God appoints a king to cherish his people as a shepherd, his flock. When he fails in this duty, when he grinds down his people, evades their ancient liberties and treats them as slaves, he is no prince, but a tyrant. Then may the estates of the land legally renounce him and put another in his place."

This proposition that a king only held his divine rights during good behaviour, was maintained in the announcement sent to the diet in Germany. It must be remembered, however, that this document was a culmination, not an initiation. Years had

[1] "*Facinus*," ii., 190.

passed since Philip had been *rex de facto* in the northern portion of his hereditary domains. The Act of Abjuration, startling as were its contents, told no news to the world. It merely stated, in a somewhat original form, existing conditions.[1]

Up to this date Matthias had figured in all proclamations as Philip's lieutenant. With this abjuration of his royal cousin his own office expired *per se*. He had, indeed, handed in his resignation in June. It had been accepted, and in October he set out for Germany without leave-taking. The states voted him a pension of 50,000 florins, but there is no record that this was ever paid.[2]

It was agreed by the states that the regulation of the government should be administered by the prince until the arrival of Anjou, now their governor-elect. Holland and Zealand did not act with the "generality" in this. In their acceptance of the prince's authority they omitted the time limit. They had no intention of acknowledging the French duke, except as the governor of their allies.

The Walloon provinces were out of this contract, as they had returned to Spanish allegiance. Thus, the seventeen provinces were now divided into three: one portion under William of Nassau, one under Anjou, and the third under Parma. The arrangement was not an ideal one, but Orange was always

[1] The abjuration met with much opposition. The Amsterdam merchants feared a disastrous loss of trade and the Catholics feared over-dominant Protestantism.—Groen, *Archives*, vii., 586; see also Strada, ii., 190 *et seq*.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 588.

Philippus II. Caroli V. filius Hispaniarum, Indiarum, Neapolis, Siciliæ Hierosolymæ, etc. rex Catholicus.
Mediolani, Brabantiæ, Geldriæ, et dux Flandriæ, Hollandiæ, Hannoniæ, etc. comes. Ætatis suæ 59.
1586.

PHILIP II.
(Based on an old print.)

accustomed to cut according to his cloth, and not to refuse the best that was possible in his eyes, though it fell far short of all wished for.

Three days after the Act of Abjuration was accepted by the estates, a formula was drafted, to which everyone was asked to swear.

"I solemnly swear that henceforward I will neither respect, obey, nor recognise the King of Spain as my prince and master; that I now renounce the King of Spain and consider myself absolved from the allegiance I formerly owed him. At the same time I swear fidelity to the United Netherlands, namely, the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, etc., etc., and also to the national council and superior body established by the estates of these provinces; and promise my assistance according to the best of my abilities against the King of Spain and his adherents, and all other national enemies. This is done and resolved in the assembly of the states-general of the United Netherlands in The Hague, July 29, 1581."[1]

While Philip was thus declared to have no more rights in the land, his nephew succeeded in re-establishing royal authority in the prince's own city of Breda. The people made a brave resistance, "but proved weaker in numbers than in courage," and the place was given over to pillage.[2] The Abbé of St. Gertrude hastened thither and re-established the Catholic religion. "Thus was the city returned to

[1] Bor, iii., 280.

[2] Strada, ii., 195.

the king and the citizens' souls to God" is Strada's comment. In June, shortly after the loss of Breda, the prince bought the seigniory of Flushing and the margravate of Veer.[1] As soon as the assembly at The Hague broke up, the prince, accompanied by the deputies of the states, went to Zealand, to take formal possession of his new estates. He also put various cities in a state of defence.[2] Then he proceeded to Ghent. The Act of Abjuration was published and accepted in all the places he visited.

In August, Anjou crossed the borders with a gallant troop of 5000 cavalry, all "volunteers and noble gentlemen." He succeeded in making Parma raise the siege of Cambray, and then, finding the estates not yet ready to receive him, he went over to England to see Elizabeth, while Parma applied himself to the siege of Tournay, which finally yielded on November 30th.

When the states left The Hague in August, it was with the understanding that they should reassemble in Antwerp in October. By December 1st, only a few deputies had arrived. Orange made a vigorous speech to them on the delay that had ensued, and on the dangers that threatened them[3]:

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[1] These estates had lapsed to the king on the death of the last possessor without heirs. In 1572 the states resumed the titles, as Philip had never paid the debts upon them. The prince paid 149,000 guilders and the states were lenient about the payment.—See Meteren, iii., 500; Hoofd, xvii., 722; Arend, *Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands*, 116, 441; *Rés. de Hollande*, June 26, 1581, quoted in *Les Huguenots*, etc., vi., 102.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, v., vii.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 40; Bor, iii., 282.

"It is two whole months since the estates should have met in this city. . . . Tournay is besieged, and other evils threaten us. Under these circumstances, gentlemen, this nonchalance is an incredible misfortune, which does not proceed as much from lack of understanding or laziness, as from the fact that every one is more interested in private than in public affairs. *The people will not realise that this war is their war*, and that it is they who are fighting for their liberty, for their persons, for their conscience. Hence it happens that when money is asked for, without which neither I nor any mortal can wage war, they bicker about it as though they were talking to the late emperor. They ought to see that it is not I whom they refuse, it is themselves. I do not want their money—though calumniators have accused me of doing so. Again I say to you, gentlemen, this is your war, and when you are asked to deliberate, it is upon your own affairs. Each province has its council, each land its forces and its money, so that what is much to all is little to each one.

"It is true that a central council has been established, but without powers. Where there is no authority, how can there be military discipline? how can finance, justice, and other affairs be regulated? And there never can be authority from those who have not a sou to pay out, as neither I nor the council have . . . . You must see that the government, established by you and the states, will not last longer than the end of January. If you have not established order by that time there will be no need of a governor, as there will be no land."

In England, it seemed for a time as though Anjou were progressing finely in his wooing. On

November 22d, Aldegonde,[1] who had gone to England with a deputation in October, writes that Elizabeth had exchanged rings with the duke, and that the marriage was definitely arranged.[2] This urged forward the people to complete their bargain with their new protector. The embassy in England was directed to press his coming, and they began in earnest to prepare to receive their governor-elect,[3] with all the pageantry they loved so dearly.

[1] Justin of Nassau accompanied Aldegonde on this mission.

[2] Froude, xi., 472 ; *Les Huguenots*, etc., vi., 120.

[3] Anjou was possibly urged to conclude a compact with the states by two suggestions : (1) that Elizabeth might marry Parma, and persuade him to desert Spain and to ally himself with Netherland interests ; (2) that if he refused, the states would offer the sovereignty to Henry of Navarre.—*Les Huguenots*, etc., vi., 258–262 *et seq.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE HAND OF THE ASSASSIN.

1582.

THE unwearying exertions of the Prince of Orange to establish a French protectorate in the provinces, were at last crowned with success. His profound faith that in that alliance lay their only hope was now to be put to the test. To John's lengthy, cautious arguments he said,[1] that the man fallen among thieves "did not refuse the aid of the Samaritan, one of different faith, after the priest and the Levite had passed him by." To the remonstrance of others, it was urged that a dog whose character was well known could be made a safe guardian of the flock if he were properly muzzled. "Not what we want but what we can get," he had said to all who had honestly thought that the prince was carrying the revolting provinces out of the frying-pan into the fire.

Even after the states had sent Anjou money to defray his expenses, the French prince lingered on

[1] June 20, 1581. Groen, *Archives*, vii., 573.

in England. Hoofd says[1] that Orange and many other gentlemen spent the whole of January awaiting his arrival in Zealand. Elizabeth escorted her guest as far as Canterbury, and parted from him with somewhat hollow assurances of affection. A few days previous, she had told him that she would be a sister to him, but her farewell was said with loving phrases whose portent was more than sisterly.

On February 8th, the duke set sail with escort of fifteen ships, and arrived at Flushing on the 10th.[2] Crowds of people flocked to meet him, and his journeys to Middelburg and Antwerp were made a triumphal progress,—though the provinces which accepted him were, in truth, but a small portion of an already small country. This long-looked-for and much-talked-of ruler, or protector, was not as insignificant a character as the Austrian archduke, but he had little else to recommend him. In person he was small and ill-formed, like all his mother's sons. The dread malady of smallpox could not then be held in bounds, and the duke was badly marked by its ravages. His cheeks were so swollen that he looked like a frog, and his nose was double. He was young in comparison to Elizabeth, but youth could not compensate for a repulsive exterior, and she bade him a tender adieu, without entertaining the slightest intention of seeing him again. She wrote pleasant letters[3] to the states-general and to

[1] Hoofd, xix., 745.

[2] *Ibid.*; Letters of Orange, Feb. 10th; Gachard, *Cor.*, v., xiii., 23.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 60 *et al.*

Orange, recommending their new protector to their kindness, but did not announce the nearer alliance with him, the hope of which had been a prime factor in pushing forward the negotiations between the provinces and Anjou.

The reception in Middelburg was fine, but when the party reached Antwerp, whither they went by boat, the greeting given was still more magnificent, according to all descriptions.[1] On February 18th the French prince was installed as Duke of Brabant. Orange himself placed the hereditary ducal mantle on the new incumbent's shoulders.

"As he buttoned it he said,—words noticed by his suite and all the company: 'Monseigneur, this button must be securely fastened, so that no one can snatch the mantle from your Highness.' Then as he put the hat on his head, he added: 'Monseigneur, I pray God that you may guard this attire carefully. Now you are indeed Duke of Brabant.' Many of those present would have gladly wagered that the button was not firmly buttoned nor the hat well placed, and the result justified their prognostications."[2]

While Anjou was being cloaked with these honours

[1] "I pass over the Doric erection at the gate, the chariot of the maid of Antwerp (Maiken ?), the great boat of the rhetoricians at the corner of the Gasthuys Straet, near St. George's Church, the spectacle of the painters at the corner of the Huyvetters Straet, the representations at the Meerbruche, the triumphant arches at St. Catherine's Bridge, opposite the Cruystraete, battalions of bourgeois in various places, nymphs and giants in the markets, whales, marine monsters, and Neptune on the Hoogstraat, with numerous columns, theatres, gateways, and arches."—*Renon de France*, iii., 19.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14.

there was also no neglect in providing a proper muzzle for him. Pledges of every kind were demanded from him, and every effort was made to protect the cherished provincial privileges from infringement by their new watch-dog.[1]

It was now more than a year since the publication of Philip's ban against the prince. The first result was, that the answering *Apology* had aided in precipitating the renunciation of the Spanish monarch's authority, though Orange's opponents treated this document as beneath notice. The royalist, Renon, said it did not seem to him suitable for a soldier to take to publishing writings in that fashion, but the pen had proved an efficient weapon in that instance. The liberal offers made by Philip, at first, undoubtedly, inspired many a criminal with hopes of clearing his own record and winning honours for his posterity, and still more, caused many a conscientious fanatic to wonder if his hand were not the destined instrument to rid the Church of this pest.[2] But many months passed before either an assassin or a dreamer succeeded in putting his project into execution.

The first public attempt took place a month after Anjou's installation, and was almost crowned with success. The 18th of March chanced to be the new

[1] The Earl of Leicester and Walter Raleigh assisted at all this pageant. As they were about to return to England, the Taciturn charged the latter to say to Elizabeth, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur.* We are protected by the shadow of thy wings.

[2] The latter class was, in truth, the dangerous one. The difficulties of escape were sufficient to deter any one from an attempt to kill the prince, who was moved by no stronger motive than that of self-advancement.

governor's birthday, and preparations were made for celebrating the occasion in the evening. In the morning, it being Sunday, Orange went to church in the chapel he had established on the citadel hill, where a minister from Tournay preached the sermon. He invited several gentlemen to return with him to dinner, the French ambassadors, Messrs. de Laval and des Pruneaux, being of the party.[1] They all intended to sup at the general banquet prepared by Monsieur in the evening, to the states-general and officers of Antwerp in commemoration of his birthday.

It was a family dinner and all the household were at the table, among whom were Maurice, then fourteen years old, and two of John's sons. The company lingered long over their dessert as the conversation was very lively.

"The dinner ended, the Prince passing out of the great chamber with the Count of Hollock and the said Dellavall, and followed by the troop, he took occasion upon Lavalle's speech, who commanded the tapestry, to say sundry things about the same, and beholding the tapestry as he went, was ready to have entered the second chamber, having his eyes still fixed upwards, when sud-

[1] W. Herlle to Lord Burleigh, March 20th.—Groen, supplement, 220.

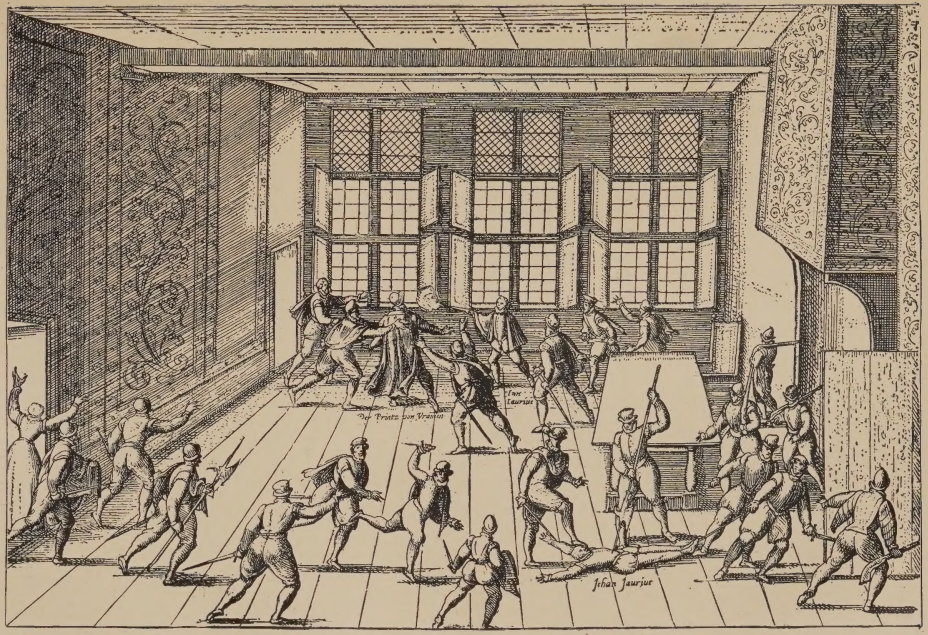
Except the extracts from Herlle and other slight references, this account is taken from a pamphlet published by Plantin in 1582, entitled, *Bref Recueil de l' assassinat commis en la personne des très illustre prince d' Orange, Conte de Nassau*, etc. This also appeared in Dutch as *Koort Verhaal*, etc. My notes are from the French version as given in Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 46. Apparently there were a few more details in the Dutch version.

denly a person of small stature and less representation (of the age of three or twenty-four years,[1] ill clad, and of face pale, drawing to a black melancholick colour, shaven, saving the upper lip, whence a thin black hair began to issue) presented himself as though he had some request to exhibit and once being put back by a halberder, still persisted and suddenly discharged a pistol (that he held unseen) at the Prince, which by reason of overcharging recoiled in his hand and made the piece and bullet to mount upwards from his level, taking the Prince between the ear and the end of the jaw of the right side, passing clean through the left cheek, without offence to the arterye, the jaw, tongue, or tooth, (as yet hitherunter is said) saving that it grated upon one tooth, whereat the Prince nether staggering, nor astonyed, beheld the fellow, till he, amazed with his own fact, and bound as it were to the place by a divine power, let his dagger fall to have made away, whereat one Bonnyvet stabbed him in the breast, and then he was presently slain in furie by the company much against the Prince's will, who cried still to save him, but in vain, for he had in less than a moment no less than thirty-three mortal wounds given him."[2]

According to another account, the murderer's pistol was so close to the prince's face, that the beard and hair were singed, and the wound was actually cauterised as the bullet passed in, thus preventing the flow of blood that would otherwise have instantly ensued. The action was so quick that no one, Orange least of all, knew just what had taken place. The prince indeed thought that a part of the ceiling had fallen.

[1] So in original.

[2] See also Hoofd, xix., 752 *et seq*,



ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE (1582), BY JOHN JAUREGUY.
(From an old print.)

When he recovered from being stunned and blinded, and realised the situation, his first thought was for the criminal. He said quickly, "Do not kill him, I forgive him my death,"[1] and then turning to the French ambassador, he added: "What a faithful servant does his Highness lose in me." Immediately after he was led to his chamber, supported on both sides, for he could not walk alone. The first feeling among those present was that French treachery was at the bottom of the attack, and this sentiment was echoed throughout the city when the news went abroad. The fear that the new governor was instituting a second St. Bartholomew gained a ready credence at once.

Maurice's behaviour was curiously self-contained for a lad of fourteen, who had seen his father shot before his very eyes. He made no outcry, but stood quietly on guard over the body of the would-be murderer to see that no papers were taken away without his knowledge. First, the pistol was picked up and it was discovered that it had blown off Jauregiuy's—such proved to be the name of the villain—thumb in the discharge, so that he had not been able to use the dagger which was found in his trunk-hose.

A further search was made, some papers and pamphlets were found and given to Maurice, who showed them to one of his father's servants, saying, as he burst into tears: "See what the wretch had with him." The man answered: "Monsieur, do not

[1] "Doodt hem niet, vergeef hem myen dood"—"ne le tuez point, je luy pardonne ma mort."

distress yourself. God can preserve your father; but take care of the papers; we must discover something about the unhappy man, or the whole city will be in confusion." To which he replied: "Alas! I am afraid there is some other scamp here who will take them away from me." The young gentleman was moved to speak thus, because there was a report through the room, that the very people who had slain the assassin were accomplices, so that suspicion fell on the prince's best friends and servants. On these words of the young count, the above-mentioned servant covered him with his cloak and said: "Come with me, monsieur, I will place your papers in safety." He did this, taking him to the common room of the house. Looking over the papers in security, they soon saw that everything was in Spanish. "Monsieur, there is no danger for you," said the servant. "Go back and make a further search. I will stay by you." This was done, and the said servant hastened to assure everyone that a Spaniard had done the deed, and that all suspicions against the French were groundless. The young count soon returned bringing the rest of the papers, a cross and *Agnus Dei*, a green wax candle, and two bits of toad-skin, which were supposed to be charms. The same servant glanced at the first papers, which he found to be prayers and vows. Then he broke the seal of a packet of letters, which proved to be written in Spanish, by a Spaniard to a Spaniard. He announced this fact and then left further investigation to Aldegonde, who soon arrived upon the scene. When the rest of the packet was opened Mar-

nix found two letters of credit—one for 2000 crowns, the other for 877,—with letters of advice, all in Spanish and by Spaniards. The books were a book of hours, a Jesuit catechism, and two tablets, written from one end to the other, relating to his project. Gifts were promised to the Virgin Mary, to the Angel Gabriel, Christ, and the son of Christ,—*even of Christus eenen zoone had*,[1] if they would intercede with the Almighty in behalf of his success. He pledged himself to live on bread and water for a week if he escaped alive. The presents he would give to various shrines were distinctly specified. There was also a charm which he thought would make him invisible directly after the deed.

Anjou was at once informed by Aldegonde of the above facts. He convened the state council, appointed an early session of the states-general, and issued a proclamation summoning all persons who had any information of any kind concerning the crime, to give it instantly.[2] At first, of course, the chief necessity was to find out how widespread was the plot. As at Lincoln's assassination, the question was, whether this were a party or individual crime. The whole story was speedily unravelled, and it was plainly proven that the knowledge of this particular attempt was confined to but four people.

The facts were as follows. Gaspar d'Anastro was a Spanish merchant living in Antwerp. Times were hard, and he found himself on the verge of bank-

[1] Meteren, xi., 19,

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., lx. He also took a guard of native Netherlanders to show his confidence.

ruptcy, from which Philip's liberality seemed to offer a chance of redeeming himself financially.[1] He entered into correspondence with Philip, and signed a contract by which he promised to kill the prince within a specified period. He was to receive in return 80,000 ducats and the cross of Santiago. The Prince of Orange, indeed, admitted so many people to his presence that the deed was possible, but escape most improbable, and Anastro himself, being inspired by purely selfish motives, had no idea of letting his life terminate in the same hour as that of his victim. He had as cashier another Spaniard, by the name of Venero, who was in his confidence.

To him Anastro revealed the project, and they wept together at the thought of the poor master's embarrassment and the dangers he would have to run to get free from debt, and they decided that there was no reason why John Jaureguy, a servant, should not throw himself into the breach and let Anastro reap the reward. How they succeeded in bringing Jaureguy to this point of view is not related. Devotion to Anastro or religious zeal must have been the mainspring of his action, as his share of the spoil was only to have been 2877 crowns. Anastro laid his plan well, went to Dunkerque, succeeded in getting a passport over the border, on pretence of his agent's illness at Calais, and was safe within Parma's lines two hours before the order came to arrest him. Venero, the cashier, and a Dominican monk named Zimmerman, were the only victims for

[1] *Bref Recueil*, Bor, iii., 312 *et seq.*

popular indignation. The latter had heard Jaureguy's confession of his intention, and was thus cognisant of the deed before its commission.

Both made full written statements of all they knew, and suffered the penalties of their knowledge.

Their execution took place on March 28th, so that the following note[1] from Orange to Aldegonde, bearing no date, was probably written on the 27th:

"M. DE ST. ALDEGONDE:

"I have heard that they are to do justice to-morrow to the two prisoners, accomplices of the person who fired at me. For my part I would willingly pardon the offence against me, and if they have, perhaps, merited a heavy and rigorous punishment, I beg you ask the magistrate not to make them suffer torments, but to be content with a quiet death.

"Your good friend to do you service,

"WM. OF NASSAU."

Owing to this letter, Zimmerman and Venero were strangled before being quartered, and were thus spared the torments which it was the custom to inflict upon poor wretches before death came to relieve their sufferings. The execution took place opposite the town house, on Wednesday, March 28th, ten days after the crime.

A letter of one Derens to de Berghes, on March 27th, says[2]:

[1] This letter does not exist in MS. Groen takes it from the French version of the above mentioned pamphlet.—*Archives*, viii., 80. See also Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, 77.

"The people first cried, 'This is a second Paris,' and instant measures had to be taken to protect Alençon and his people. . . . As soon as the prince came a little to himself his first thought was to protest that Alençon was in no wise responsible for this deed. . . . As soon as the public was a little calmer, it was discovered that d'Anastro, three months previously, had been bought by the King of Spain for 80,000 ducats and a cross of St. Iago, while the murderer was to have only 6000 ducats, a bill of change for the amount being found among his papers. God was still merciful, because if he had permitted this to be done in the evening at Alençon's banquet, there would have been no limit to the misery and confusion that would have followed.

"There is good hope from the prince's condition that he will not die from the wound.[1] He does not speak, in order not to set back the *quetsure*, but makes known his wants by signs or writing, and has already sent letters to many places."

The first grief of the frightened family was piteous to see. "The poor princess, overcome with vehement passion, did swoon continually; the children, confounded with tears and cries, troubled all the place, and the family present were utterly perplexed."[2]

[1] Herlle says (p. 225): "Touching the state of the prince's person, this is to be considered. First, he is of years given to surfeit, and had at that dinner committed some extraordinary excess; further, that he is one whose head and spirit do labour continually and was never hurt before." The truth of this first statement seems to me very doubtful. Orange was very spare, and it seems impossible that he could have been so continuously industrious had he been over-fond of table pleasures.

[2] *Ibid.*

Maurice's self-control has been described, and the others soon forgot themselves in care for the invalid, who remained in a very precarious condition for three weeks.

The patient was far more pre-occupied with the thought of clearing Anjou from suspicion, and of supporting him in his authority, than of saving himself. But the slightest exertion was highly dangerous for him. The ball had entered the neck under the right ear, passed downward through the roof of the mouth, and out under the left jawbone, grazing one tooth. The slight cauterisation made by the pistol nozzle checked the hemorrhage that might have been fatal, but after the wound was dressed there was constant danger that it might bleed afresh, as it was impossible to make the bandages very tight at that point.

"Here we have been in great terror," wrote Marie of Nassau,[1] "thinking my lord must surely die. A fortnight after the shooting he had such a bleeding from a vein that was slightly grazed, that we gave up all hope. The hemorrhage lasted several days. He resigned himself to death, and, bidding us all good-night, said, 'It is over with me.'[2]

"You cannot believe how troubled we were to see my lord in such pain, without being able to relieve him.

"Never shall I forget that day. But he has been saved by a miracle. There has been no hemorrhage now for fourteen days, and the doctors and barbers think he will be completely restored to health. He has to keep per-

[1] To Count John, April 18th. Groen, *Archives*, viii., 87.

[2] "Es ist nun mit mir gedan."

fectly still, and is not allowed to speak more than is necessary. That is the reason why Philip (Engel, the secretary) has not answered your queries. The doctors forbid my lord doing any business at present. I wish it were possible for your Excellency to see how my lord is changed and grown thin. There is really nothing on him but skin and bones. I hope his flesh will soon come back when he begins to eat.

"Up to now he has had no meat; nothing but bread, water-soup, and things of that kind, for he cannot yet chew easily, but I believe in a day or two he is to be allowed to begin to eat and try how it agrees with him. In the greatest haste, March 18th.

"Your Excellency's wholly devoted and true
"daughter to the end of my life.
"M. F. v. N. v. O."

Evidently time had stopped for Marie on the disastrous day when Jaureguy fired. She writes March 18th, when the date should have been a month later. Death did appear imminent when the cicatrix fell off, as it seemed impossible to stop the bleeding without choking the sufferer.[1] Anjou's own physician, Leonardo Botalli, devised a simple and efficacious expedient. The pressure of a broad firm thumb upon the vein checked the flow of blood. A succession of attendants, relieving each other night and day, was provided, and the hemorrhage was stanched until the wound closed. On April 21st, "*me her* begins to eat," wrote Marie. "Masti-

[1] Over twelve pounds of blood were lost. "Naa veele middelen vergeefs aangewendt ried Botalli dat verscheyde persoonen, elkandren verpoozende, zouden gestaadelyk den duym op het loch houden." Hoofd, xix., 756.

cation is difficult, but things seem to taste good." [1] The recovery once begun seems to have been rapid, as on the same day Orange himself writes to the count in response to the queries of Philip Engel.[2] On May 2d, the invalid was able to go in person to the cathedral to offer thanks for his preservation.

The rumours that went abroad immediately after the attempted assassination were various and confused.

"Colonels and other principal personages were admitted at once to the prince's chamber, to whom he made a very loving and pithy oration, showing that this subornation against his life proceeded not from Monsieur or from any French desire, but directly from his capital enemy, the King of Spain." [3]

The tumult in the city was calmed by these witnesses, who were able to assure the excited populace that Orange was still in life, and that his dearest wish was that no harm should come to the new protector while "the Taciturn" was incapacitated from protecting him. It was more difficult to convince people at a distance that the wound had not proved fatal. The Prince of Parma acted promptly on the first reports, and wrote to the cities urging them to leave their ways of rebellion and return to the arms

[1] Marie to John: "Welches im ziemlich wol geschmeckt hat." She apologises for having written her last letter so hastily, but she was hurt at his not writing.

[2] This letter is strangely cold considering that the prince had just returned from the doors of death. A note to Condé, April 25th, is far warmer.

[3] Herlle, Groen, supplement, 223.

of their loving monarch.[1] When he heard that his opponent was only wounded, he thought that the announcement was simply a ruse to hold the cities back from action until further steps could be taken.

As late as May 20th, Granvelle wrote[2]:

"I consider the prince's death as certain. If he had not suffered so many torments at the end, I would have wished that his death had been sudden, so that Alençon and all his suite might have been massacred, as surely would have been the case."

In another letter he proposed that Count Buren should be sent to the Netherlands as governor. His Spanish training would ensure fidelity to Philip, and from his parentage he might be acceptable to the people. But these good people all counted without their host, and the prince came triumphantly back to life.

Jaureguy's bullet failed in its immediate object, but it destroyed another victim besides those who plotted the prince's death and met their own. Charlotte of Bourbon never recovered from the shock of March 18th. The long strain of nursing, despite the loving assistance given her, told heavily on her shattered health. As the prince passed out

[1] Hoofd, xix., 755; Meteren, xi., 24; Bor, iii., 314.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 99.

The Cardinal was greatly disappointed at the turn of events. On June 2d, he wrote: "The French give me great uneasiness by their report that Orange lives, and has been seen with Alençon at a window, wearing a bit of a plaster on one of his cheeks. *Fortassis spectrum.* I can only still hope that he is dead. . . . I am also assured that his apostate nun died of pleurisy. It would indeed be fine to bury them together."—*Ibid.*, 104.

of danger, she yielded to a fever, to which she succumbed on May 5th, three days after her husband's public thanksgiving.

If Orange had hoped for political advancement from his marriage with Charlotte of Bourbon he had been disappointed. The French alliance did not in any way come to pass through her efforts, while the loss of German friends, that it had caused had been very serious. Prudentially it was a great error, but from a personal point of view, the marriage had been singularly happy. From the beginning Charlotte was a loving and happy wife, demanding little, and grateful for all that her new life had given her.

With each successive year she seemed to have taken a larger part in her husband's public affairs, and acted as his viceroy and agent in a way that Anne of Saxony had never done.

She left six little girls under seven years old. The first had been named for her grandmother, the second for Queen Elizabeth; the third, born in 1578, when it was hoped that a reunion of the seventeen provinces was still not impossible, was named Catherine Belgia, and had the states-general and Catherine Schwarzburg, for whom she was also named, as her sponsors. On September 9th, the states-general decreed that an income of three thousand pounds a year from the estate of Linghen should be paid to their god-child.[1] In 1579, Charlotte Flandrina was born in Antwerp, to whom the estates at Ghent voted an income of two thousand florins.[2]

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 310, 313.

[2] *Ibid.*, 315, 320. It is rather singular that this child, born in the

I find no records of the christening or sponsors of Charlotte Brabantina in 1580. The sixth child first saw the light in Antwerp, in the autumn of 1581, and was christened Emilie Antwerpiana. The city presented 300 florins at once to her nurses.

Little passages in some of the familiar letters show that the life led by the prince's family was by no means luxurious. But Charlotte was not a complaining woman. She made light of the inconvenient lodgings and cold barracks into which they moved from one city to another, and found real happiness in "our big and little girls," as she frequently wrote in her letters. Her married life evidently was a delightful contrast to the youth she had spent in the cloister, or to the years when she had been a dependent on the bounty of the Elector Palatine. She lived down the obloquy which had been cast upon her at the time of her marriage, and the sterling worth of her character was finally acknowledged by all the prince's own friends, who had been filled with consternation at the imprudence of the marriage. Her brother-in-law wrote in 1580,[1] that she was the greatest consolation and support to the prince in his troubles, owing to her virtues and her understanding, and was tenderly beloved by him.

Antwerp showed her all possible honour after her death. "Two thousand long mantles," says Hoofd,[2] "followed her to the grave on the nineteenth of May,

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hour of the Catholic reaction, should have returned to the ancient faith and died as the Abbess of Poitiers.

[1] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 333.

[2] xix., 756.

but her virtues will keep her memory green, not only in the heart of her spouse, but in the hearts of all who knew her."

From this time on, Marie of Nassau abandoned all thoughts of returning to her adopted home at Dillenburg, and devoted herself to the care of her little step-sisters. After a time, Charlotte's father, the Duke of Montpensier, offered to take charge of one of his granddaughters. Orange answered his offer[1] on September 5th:

"MONSIEUR: I have received your letters from Paris, and nothing could be more grateful to me than your kindness. As you express a desire to have my little girl, I will at once arrange that she shall be taken to a place where my messengers will have the honour of placing her at once in the care of you and of madam. I will send her, so please God, from this city, on the 14th instant, so that she will arrive at Calais, if the wind serve, five days later. I hope, from what you write, that she will find there some kind of a coach or litter to take her on.

"As yet I have decided nothing about my other daughters, and hope you will take it in good part that I only send you one. There is no need, Monsieur, to assure me that the child shall be well cared for.

"Having the honour to be your daughter, I do not doubt that you will be pleased to order all that is necessary for her."

While the people were rejoicing that Orange had come back to them from the dead, an appeal was

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 126.

made to the various estates to indemnify the prince for the expense he had incurred in behalf of the country.[1] As the result of this action, the Abbey of Afflighem, the county of Alost, and the Marquisate of Berghes were given to him.[2] He also received other ecclesiastical confiscations from time to time, among which was the old monastery at Delft, where, finally, he ended his days. Holland was also moved by this event to press another matter. Several times had the estates desired to show that they had no intention of taking a foreign protector for their own affairs, by formally giving to Orange the countship they had withdrawn from Philip.[3]

After Orange's illness this offer was renewed and accepted by the prince, in a letter of August 14th from Bruges.[4] The offer and acceptance, however, constituted but the preliminaries. It was further necessary that so-called letters of *Renversal* should be drawn up and delivered, and that a new constitution should be confirmed by mutual oaths. After all these steps, a ceremonious inauguration was to be celebrated, and that never took place. The im-

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[1] See Gachard, *Cor.*, v., xvii. *et seq.*

[2] Anjou to the states of Brabant, and their replies.—*Ibid.*, 36. Orange to Bloyere.—*Ibid.*, 48. Rés. des. États-Gén., etc.—*Cor.*, vi., 336. *Remontrance*, etc.,—*Ibid.*, 339.

[3] Anjou had indeed joined the title of Count of Holland and Zealand to that of Duke of Brabant, according to the Treaty of Bordeaux, but it was a simple fiction.—*Les Huguenots*, etc., vi., 279.

On May 6th, the prince announced to the states of Holland that Anjou agreed that his (Orange's) name alone should figure in the documents, "such being the popular will."

[4] Bor, iii., 186. In July, 1581, he had accepted this for a time only.

portance of this transaction at this time was, that it is shown plainly that Holland had firmly resolved that she, as a state, would have nothing to do with the new protector, and that the Prince of Orange saw that there was no further use in trying to make them do so, and that he consented to be Count of Holland because he saw that his dreams of a constitutional union, of a true United Netherlands, were vain.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE.

1582–1583.

DURING the prince's illness the new Duke of Brabant was considered the active head of the government.[1] From his bed Orange tried to strengthen his authority, and to induce the people to respect the will of the ruler whom they had voluntarily summoned to their shores. In July, the alien was further honoured by receiving the title of Count of Flanders, Duke of Guelderland, and Lord of Friesland.[2] When Anjou, accompanied by Orange, made a state journey to Bruges to be duly invested with the Flemish countship, another attempt was made on the life of the latter, which was intended

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 76.

[2] This was the time when Holland renewed the offers of the countship to the Prince of Orange. In this year Pope Gregory introduced the new calendar, which had only partial vogue in Europe. In October, after the 4th, the date was written the 15th. Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, and Zealand adopted the new dates, but Guelderland, Zutphen, Utrecht, Overyssel, Friesland, Groningen, and others remained eleven days behind the time. When the states of Holland passed on this, it was voted that the salary of 1500 guilders lately voted to the Prince of Orange, should be paid for the omitted days. Hoofd, xix., 776.

to strike the former at the same time.[1] An Italian, Basa, and a Spaniard, Salcedo, were detected in a scheme to poison both princes. They confessed that Parma had hired them for the purpose. Unfortunately, young Count Egmont, who had recently gone over to the Spanish party, was implicated in this plot to murder his father's friend. He did not, however, suffer for his crime, as, through Orange's intercession, he was allowed to escape to France.

Honours were shown to him, but the French duke did not feel much happier in his position than his Spanish and Austrian predecessors had done. He complained that he was not treated as he deserved. Elizabeth, who still posed, episodically, as Anjou's bride, thought it meet to espouse his cause, as she had done before. On August 9th she wrote[2] to Orange, saying that she found it more than passing strange that such a lack of confidence should be shown to a gentleman who had abandoned his country out of pity for the poor Netherlanders. It was not seemly that he should be so ill-paid,[3] and forced

[1] Hoofd, xix., 762. [2] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 120.

[3] One of Anjou's chief grievances was his budget. His demands for his household expenses were as follows:

Chapel	6,600 florins
Bedchamber	2,400 "
House	31,600 "
Wine cellars	600 "
Fuel	4,000 "
Bakery	1,300 "
Fruitery	1,200 "
Kitchen	70,000 "
Miscellaneous furnishings	16,000 "
Guard	18,000 "
Court officers	200,000 "

It was very difficult to provide this amount in the poverty to which war had reduced the provinces,

to play a secondary part. The queen adds a postscript in her own hand: "Mon cousin, je vous promets, en foy de Princesse, que s'il pleust à Monsieur d'ouvrir les oreilles aux honorables offertes quy luy sont presentez, il n'auroit raison de regretter la partie. Et pourtant gardez vous en de le trop tourmenter." Anjou fully shared this opinion of Elizabeth regarding his treatment. His courtiers and advisers kept harping on the fact that he was playing second fiddle in the state orchestra, as ill-befitted a son of France.[1] "Why go on in this slow, unsatisfactory way," they urged, "taking a little authority meted out by these burghers, jealous of their purse-strings, sharing that petty modicum with the Prince of Orange?[2] Take your rights at one bold stroke. Make yourself master of Flanders. France will stand at your back." Such arguments fell pleasantly on the protector's ear. He had neither an inherited nor an acquired distaste for treachery, and was quite ready to seek new things, disregardful of the many promises he had solemnly sworn.

At that epoch the bedrooms of high personages were often used as consulting-rooms for dangerous plotting. Early in January, 1583, after the above-mentioned suggestions had rankled in Anjou's mind for some weeks, he invited several of his associates

[1] Hoofd, xix., 779; Strada, ii., 258; Renon de France, iii., 42 *et seq.*; Meteren, xi., 57 *et seq.*; Wagenaar, xxviii., 472.

[2] Lettenhove gives the French version of a Flemish doggerel that was sung on the streets at this time: "Orange gouverne tout, Sainte Aldegonde conseille tout, en attendant que tout soit emporté par le diable."

to visit him after he was in the safe seclusion of his bed. Then and there he recapitulated the grievances he had suffered during the year of his protectorate. He was convinced that but two courses lay open to him, both of which he had carefully considered,—to leave these ungrateful and parsimonious Flemish tradesmen to their own devices, or to show them, once for all, that he was a man of mettle. Finally, he had decided on the latter manner of proceeding. His plan was ready. He proposed that Dunkerque, Dixmude, Termonde, Bruges, Ghent, Vilvoorden, Alost, and other important places,[1] should be invaded, at one and the same time, by French troops sent thither under pretext of quieting tumults, which were to be purposely excited between the burghers and the garrisons. Antwerp should be taken by his own ducal hand. Here was prospect of plunder and sport. The French cavaliers threw honour to the winds, and agreed to the project with all their hearts. Their master had been chary in his choice of confidants, and wisely left out of the plot those whose criticism he feared.

"The Marshal de Biron [so declares Bentivoglio] was among the confederates, while Bor says he at least approved the work in hand, but his daughter[2] told me that her father took in no more than a pinch of it, and assured the Prince of Orange that Monsieur (thus are known the sons or brothers of the reigning house in

[1] Hoofd, xix., 781.

[2] "Maar zyn' dochter heeft my verhaalt hoe haar vaader niet dan een snofken daar af vernam."—*Ibid.*

France) cooked the project so secretly that no odour was wafted abroad."

Among the gentlemen whom Anjou feared to trust was du Plessis-Mornay, who was on good terms with Orange. He was, accordingly, dispatched on an errand to France. The prince regretted his departure at first, but he comprehended the real reason later.[1] When these friends gave their unqualified approval to his scheme, Anjou leaped from his bed, all unclad as he was, and kneeling down begged God's blessing on his project, which was to avenge insults to the Church as well as the duke's own indignities.

By January 16th, a body of French troops was gathered at Borgerhout, close to Antwerp walls, and Anjou was ready to complete his enterprise on the morrow.[2] It is said that a masked man rushed into the guard-house that night, and warned the inmates that danger was threatening them.[3] Suspicion and uneasiness were certainly in the air and affected both civilians and soldiers. The captain of the guard felt their influence and imparted his fears to Orange, who assured him that he had complete confidence in their protector's good faith, though he agreed to all precautionary measures usual when an attack was expected. So little belief had the prince in the righteousness of this distrust against his French *protégé*, that he sent the burgomaster to the ducal

[1] Hoofd, xix., 786; Bor, iii., 340.
[2] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 141.
[3] Strada, ii., 260.

headquarters to inform Anjou of the accusations. That staunch ally protested that he would die for Antwerp, but injure it never, while a secret attack on its liberties was simply beyond his comprehension. This was a private message on the evening of the 16th. On the 17th, a formal deputation of magistrates and militia, accompanied by Orange, waited on Anjou. He solemnly avowed that no lamb could be more innocent of evil intentions than he, their chosen governor. No sooner had his reassured visitors left him than the duke sent a messenger after the prince, proposing an afternoon visit to the extra-mural camps. Orange declined the suggestion, begged him not to leave the city that day, and returned to his dwelling near the citadel.

Anjou sat down to his noonday dinner, at which he received a letter that agitated him extremely. When he had read it he stuck it in a little muff that he carried on his arm.[1] Immediately after this he ordered his horse, sent the first back to the stable as too restless for his purpose, mounted the second, and rode off through the Kipdorp gate with about two hundred armed followers. As he crossed the drawbridge he waved his hand to the troops, saying: "That is your city, go and take possession of it." This was between twelve and one o'clock, and most of the citizens were still at table. The duke then galloped off to the camp, while his escort re-entered the city, slaying at the gate the few guards who opposed their progress. They cried, "*Ville gaignée!*

[1] Hoofd, xix., 786: "stak het voorts in een moffelken dat hy an den arm had."

Tue, tue! Vive le duc d'Anjou! Vive la messe!" as they clattered over the pavements. Reinforcements from the camp quickly followed this first troop, an onslaught was made upon the town, and it seemed for a short time as though the French had the upper hand. But the Antwerp citizens were full of pluck, and they showed no white feather that day. They were taken by surprise, and, engaged in their daily avocations, were unarmed, but indignation supplied the place of preparation.[1] They made vigorous fight not with the cheating yard-wand, but with all other kinds of improvised weapons, as, from the roof-tops they hurled down tiles, from the windows, heavy furniture, etc., to such good purpose, that nearly a thousand of their treacherous allies were slain, while few burghers lost their lives.[2]

Anjou stood aloof from the heat of the fray, forced to endure the vehement reproaches of those of his countrymen who had been judged too honourable to be safe confidants of this secret project. After the first dash, he had clapped Burgomaster Schoonhove, who with Justin of Nassau, had accompanied him out of Antwerp, on the shoulder, saying: "This is the day that shall raise me to full sovereignty over the Netherlands."[3]

Hoofd does not record the good burgher's reply, but he might have said: "So thought Don John when

[1] It is said that the French officers had made *their* preparations in advance, by visiting the chief jewellers' shops under pretence of purchasing, with the real intent of selecting their plunder beforehand.

[2] The number is put at 1583, but as that is the date of the year, its accuracy may be doubted.

[3] Hoofd, xix., 787.

he seized Namur, but his deed proved the first nail in his coffin." The war-cry of the French was: "The city is gained! Long live the mass! Long live the Duke of Anjou! Kill, kill!" They soon found that the city was not gained, that Anjou's reputation, none too brilliant before, never recovered from the crime of that day, and while much killing was done, the victims were not the ones they had dedicated to slaughter. The citizens worked together with wonderful unanimity. "Rich, poor, young, and old displayed an equal zeal. Beggar, Papist, Lutheran, were forgotten names." [1]

Everything happened so quickly that Orange did not reach the scene of action from his distant quarter of the city until the worst was over. His first thought was to quell the fighting before the breach between natives and foreigners became irreparable. "Do not shoot, citizens," he cried, "it is a misunderstanding." [2] By that time the assailants were pretty well repulsed, and the citizens' brave self-defence had gained them the day. Little remained for the would-be mediator to do except to calm the excited populace, and this he succeeded in accomplishing, though it is doubtful if they were quite in a mood to count as a "misunderstanding," an attack where treacherous intent on the part of their quondam allies was patent to all.

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[1] Hoofd, xix., 788.

[2] "Schiet niet, burghers, schiet niet, het is een misverstandt."

Anjou had planned to remove Orange from the scene by "taking him under his protection," but this scheme had miscarried.—*Ibid.*, 789.

This audacious attempt to seize Antwerp and its repulse, received the name of the French Fury. The results might have been more deadly than those of the Spanish Fury seven years previous, for here the assault came in a time of apparent calm, from alleged friends; there, when all the world was alarmed, from declared enemies. Motley justly remarks that this very condition probably proved the city's salvation.[1] In 1576, the city's defence was committed to mercenary regiments. When the attack came, all men looked to them for protection. In 1583, the citizens were forced to act for themselves, to rely on their own right arms. On the other hand the French were too self-confident. They had no expectation of an effective resistance and fell back on meeting its unexpected force.

Anjou had failed in gaining possession of Antwerp, but Termonde was his and to that place he determined to march at once. On the way thither he lost about a thousand of his men from the overflowing of a dyke near Mechlin, which had been cut to impede his progress, and he was forced to camp near Berchem in the neighbourhood of Vilvoorden, and to delay going to Termonde until a few days later.

His intention had been plain enough. His steward, La Fougère, taken prisoner at Bruges, confessed[2] that the duke's plan was to assure himself of the person of Orange, to sack the city, abolish the reformed religion, discard the constitution he had granted, annul the letters of *Renversal*, by which he

[1] iii., 556; Strada, ii., 264.

[2] Hoofd, xix., 784.

had recognised the prince's authority in Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. In short, he proposed to establish a firm government, according to his own tastes, and not according to the will of the sovereign people, who had invited him to take the helm, so that the glitter of his ducal garments might shine afar and show the Spanish monarch that his place was filled. But they had not offered him the whole ship of state, and that was what he wanted.

The scheme fell through. The duke then lost no time in opening a correspondence with the man whose rivalship he feared, and with the states, his epistles being absolutely unparalleled in audacity. His first letter was written on the afternoon of the 17th, to the effect that Orange must understand that the events of the day were caused entirely by the indignities offered to him. He further begged the prince to see to it that no harm came to his people. At the same time he wrote to the states, sending also, Seigniors Lantmetre and Schollier to the magistrates and colonels of Antwerp "to explain everything."[1] He requested that his furniture and clothes, as well as all the belongings of his suite, should be forwarded to him, that prisoners should be returned, and a supply of food given him for his men. He intimated, moreover, that, though he had been very ill-requited for his great kindness to the oppressed Flemings, still he might be induced to forgive and forget.

The Prince of Orange had soothed the excited people on the streets. His next task was to restrain

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, v., 79; Bor, iii., 344.

the righteous indignation of the states from too vehement expression. This was the more difficult, inasmuch as the indignation was echoed through Germany with a triumphant "We told you so," from the many Protestants who had deprecated Medicean assistance for the Netherland cause.

On January 21st, the landgrave writes[1] to two friends:

"You will have heard the result of Alençon's [Anjou] augustly offered help. The people there had better look sharp and not let their mouths be smeared with honey. It can be seen clearer than the sun [*clarius sole*] from this transaction, that no matter what is said, the only intent is to uproot religion. You have often heard me say that I could not wonder sufficiently at the prince's course in entrusting the defence of this same religion to the enemy, in commending the lambs to the wolves. *I* never expected any good from so doing."

Other neighbours took different views and hastened to express their views to Orange. Queen Elizabeth wrote[2] from Richmond:

"My Cousin: As many reports are daily sown about this new accident [*sic*] that lately happened at Antwerp, I send a gentleman to you expressly to learn the truth from your own lips. I have charged him to point out to you how close to me are Monsieur's fortunes, and to beg you to see to it that no harm come to him on account of the late trouble. I do not know what the immediate cause was, but I remember that Monsieur has often complained

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 141. The date is probably old style.
[2] January 22d. *Ibid.*, 142.

to us of many wrongs and indignities that he has suffered over there.

"Your affectionate, good cousin,
"Elizabeth."

That from England. From Paris, another gentleman hastened to the prince's side to talk over the "Antwerp accident," bringing a note[1] in the queen-mother's own handwriting:

"My Cousin: The king and I send you Sr. de Mirambeau, not because we credit all the reports, for we think too well of you to believe you guilty of ingratitude towards my son and towards those who went with him to aid you. You loved him too well to play so base a trick on a prince, supported, too, by a King of France. Until I am fully informed of the truth, I will not cease hoping that when you summoned my son you wished to serve him. In so doing you will receive due recognition from all who belong to him.

"Your good cousin
"Catherine."

The prince's answers to these cousinly epistles are very simple and dignified. To the English queen he wrote (February 14th) that she will have learned the whole truth, as ample letters have been sent from Antwerp, a few days earlier.[2] "On which testimony, Madame, I do not doubt that you will be able to judge fairly who ought to be accused and who not. . . . Since affairs have come to such a pass, I

[1] January 30th. Groen, *Archives*, viii., 148. One author (Mezeray, v., 256) asserts that Catherine had urged her son to establish his authority firmly, by seizing some strong places.

[2] *Ibid.*, 157.

hope that God will counsel us how to come out to His glory." With which he remained her humble servant.

Catherine's letter was acknowledged with rather dry courtesy.[1] Her messenger will report what he has seen and heard in Antwerp:

"I can only assure your Majesty that I have never loved prince[2] more than his Highness, and I was unwilling to credit the testimony of my eyes. For my good and loyal services, I have met with no recompense, except that, having escaped one peril, I found myself exposed to another equally great, although I had the means to serve Monsieur in this country and elsewhere, if he had been willing to take my advice."

In February, the magistrates, colonels, captains, and quartermasters of Antwerp asked Orange for a definite expression of opinion as to what should be done. In his reply,[3] he said that he was somewhat reluctant to express his opinion because he was so ill-equipped for action. He himself was powerless to provide even a single city with a garrison, yet it was he who received blame for any loss. Then he sketched the whole story of Anjou's relations to the states, acknowledging that by his duplicity he had

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 158.

[2] This might well be true without saying much. The royalty with whom Orange had dealt were not inspiring of either confidence or love.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 149; Hoofd, xx., 997; Bor, iii., 349, 354. This abstract is made from the French version as given in Gachard, *Cor.*, v., 95. It was read aloud in Flemish before the states-general, though apparently it was not addressed to them as a body.

annulled all agreements. Still, as far as the prince could see, there were but three courses possible for them to follow: (1) reconciliation with Philip; (2) dependence on themselves; (3) reconciliation with Anjou.[1] They knew the impossibility of the first, if they wished to preserve the evangelical religion. It would certainly be preferable to depend only upon their own resources, their own energies, but in the midst of war, with enemies on all sides, he did not regard independence as practicable. In their present union there was a great lack of central power, of central interest, of central responsibility. Each province thought so much more of local self-interest than of the common weal, that he could not see how they could hold together without some other force. Jealousy of state rights was a serious block in the course of general government. To his mind, therefore, the last course seemed the only one they could adopt. "With France to back him," urged Orange, "Anjou is our best and only aid."

The negotiations that followed were spiritless and dreary.[2] Everyone felt that confidence, a confidence brought into existence only by the most careful nursing, had been, after all, based on a foundation of quicksand. In the first burst of indignation against Anjou the title of Duke of Brabant was offered to Orange. He declined it, and a spirit of distrust was excited against him when he continued to brave public opinion and to urge mooring their bark to a reed, broken before their very eyes. Anjou remained at

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 149.

[2] See Meteren, iv., 97; Bor, iii., 354.

Termonde, and kept his messengers busy, bearing communications to the states. At first he had not attempted to deny his part in the attack on Antwerp, simply stating that he could not longer have remained quiescent under ill-treatment, without being a Matthias.[1] After a time, however, he changed his tone, and claimed that the whole disturbance had been due to accident and to insubordination of his troops.

The final result of the cousinly letters, of the duke's professions that he would do better, and of the prince's firm conviction that they *could* do no better, was, that the states made a new provisional arrangement with their protector, which was signed on the 26th and 28th of March, 1583.

"Thank God," wrote Anjou to Orange, "that He inspired you to reconcile me and the states happily. I hope that, with His aid, this compact will last forever. Certainly there will be no lack of faith on my part."[2] The accord stipulated that Anjou was to receive 30,000 florins for his troops, and to surrender the towns that he held. The French prisoners were to be liberated, the duke's property restored, while he waited at Dunkerque for a new and "perpetual" arrangement. As events proved, these were all idle words, as Anjou never again set foot within the Netherlands.

In the midst of these public uncertainties, Orange negotiated a private French alliance on his own account, which was not altogether pleasing to the anti-

[1] Wagenaar, xxviii., 434 ; Letter to Henry III., Bor, iii., 348.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, v., 125.

LOUISE DE COLIGNY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE.
(Based on an old engraving.)

French party, though the orthodoxy of the new connection was unimpeachable.[1] When Admiral Coligny fell at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, his son-in-law, Teligny perished with him. The seventeen-year-old Louise Coligny, Madame Teligny, bride of scarce a year, was thus bereft of both husband and father in that one terrible night. She remained a widow for eleven years, and then consented to share Orange's by no means easy life. On April 7, 1583, she arrived in Zealand; on the 11th, at Antwerp, where she was quietly married to the prince on the following day.

I have seen no comments or gossip in regard to this marriage. Nothing could have been urged against its propriety except that the prince already had too many to provide for, and that it seemed to bring him nearer to France than was agreeable to public sentiment at the moment.[2] Orange was still in his prime, not completing his fiftieth year until April 25th, while Louise was twenty-eight years old.

The event was publicly honoured, cannon were fired and church bells rung, with due signs of public rejoicing. Whether the Nassau family also rejoiced does not appear in the records. Maurice and Philip, John's son, announced the event to Count John without the slightest expression of their own sentiments on the subject[3]: "You will have heard,

[1] Wagenaar, xxviii., 499; Hoofd, xix., 810.

[2] In the announcement of this marriage to the states of Holland, it was stated that his Excellency had arranged it before the event at Antwerp.—*Rés. de Holl.*

[3] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 185, 187.

monsieur, how his Highness has made an accord with messieurs the states, and how my father married Madame de Teligny on the 12th instant." Philip uses almost the same laconic words, and there are none of Marie's charming little home letters, nor of John's ponderous utterances, to shed further light on family opinion. That the count did not fail to write to his new sister-in-law is shown by a pleasant little note [1] from her on July 1st, which she sends him by his secretary, Philip Engel:

"I hasten to assure you how honoured I feel that God put it into the heart of monseigneur the prince to take me for his companion; I recognise, too, His further favour in giving me as kin so many noble lords who cherish the fear of God, among whom, you, monsieur, hold the first rank."

It is very difficult to sketch briefly the events of this year. Almost any summary gives undue weight to some portion of the detached tangled mass.

Parma watched the Antwerp occurrences closely, and took advantage of any slight opportunity of reinstating his uncle's authority. Flanders, Brabant, Overyssel, Mechlin, Utrecht, Guelderland, Friesland, Holland, and Zealand had all contributed to Anjou's maintenance. Philip's lieutenant, therefore, was forced to remain in the south, shut out from the most important portion of his accredited government.

Philip, becoming impatient at his subjects' reluctance to accept Alexander, had thought to humour

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 228.

them by sending back Margaret of Parma to resume the regency. Divided authority not suiting the young commander, his mother yielded to his wishes and resigned her charge, but remained privately in the provinces until late in 1583, when she returned to Italy.

Alexander's appeals to the cities in March, 1582, had met with little open response, but his agents were at work everywhere and he succeeded, gradually, in gaining footholds in many places.[1] Immediately after the attack on Antwerp, Parma issued new invitations to the provinces to return to their true allegiance. At the same time he entered into secret negotiations with Anjou, offering to buy him outright. The two dukes haggled over terms for some months, simultaneously with Anjou's parleying with the states. Orange was not ignorant of these intrigues. Instead, however, of the knowledge convincing him that it was best to renounce Anjou forever, he was only the more anxious to stop that dangerous business, by pinning the French prince down by firmer bonds.

When Parma failed in winning over the ally of his enemies by private bargains, he renewed his military efforts with success, and in the summer of 1583, Eindhoven, Diest, Dunkerque, Nieuwport, and other places surrendered to his generals. In Ghent, where so much braggadocio oratory concerning ancient republicanism had been expended, movements were set on foot to urge the people to give up the game and to return to the arms of their loving Spanish

[1] Strada, ii., v., 266.

monarch. Orange sent many letters to magistrates,[1] sheriffs, and private individuals urging them to cleave to "the generality."

This wide-spread faint-heartedness was discouraging enough to the prince. A private defection touched him even more keenly, though this time he was not taken wholly unawares. William de Berghes, husband to Maria of Nassau,[2] had been suspected of lukewarmness towards his brother-in-law and towards the general cause, several times in the course of his career.[3] In 1579, his wife wrote plaintively to her brothers, warmly defending the count from these charges which were, however, not unfounded. Later, a correspondence [4] between him and Parma at that very date, was revealed. When he was appointed stadtholder of Guelderland in 1581, as successor to Count John, he abandoned his designs, according to his biographer, and administered his government honestly for a time. His nomination to the office was in accordance with the prince's general theory, that it was best to hold a doubtful adherent, by putting responsibility upon him. The letter that he wrote [5] in behalf of de Berghes, to the states of Guelderland, was as follows: "My brother-in-law, desirous of a recommendation to the stadtholdership, has assured me of his love and devotion to the service of the righteous cause of the fatherland. I only

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 234 *et al.*

[2] This was the prince's second sister, b. 1539, d. 1586.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, vii., 181.

[4] *Ibid.*, viii., 288. Also Willem van den Berg en syne tijdgenooten, E. van Reidt.

[5] Hoofd, xx., 820.

wish he had proved this earlier. Still, better late than never." [1] This was indeed damning with faint praise, but de Berghes's assurances were accepted and he received the appointment. It is possible, as Hoofd says, that the prince's distrust rankled in the new stadtholder's mind.

In 1583, de Berghes again opened a correspondence with Parma and agreed to deliver over to him the town of Zutphen, which would open the provinces to the king. The scheme was discovered. On November 15th, Count de Berghes was arrested and taken to The Hague with the incriminating letters, that proved his duplicity beyond question. After a time he was liberated and instantly took service, with all his sons, openly, under the king.

Across the Rhine, just beyond the borders of the Netherlands, changes were taking place which threatened to affect the provinces seriously. Gerard Truchses, the Archbishop of Cologne, determined to renounce his allegiance to Rome, led, indeed, to this decision by his desire to marry Agnes Mansfeld. On January 17, 1583, he authorised the exercise of the Augsburg Confession. On the 25th, he was publicly married.[2] He had not expected to secularise his see, and institute an hereditary barony as had been done in some cases. He hoped to remain as a Lutheran ecclesiastic. He did not succeed in this

[1] "Ich moghte wenschen, dat hy die wat eerder beweezen hadde. Doch beeter spaade dan nemmer."

[2] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 159 *et al.* All the German letters are full of the event. The archbishop failed in gaining hearty support among the Protestants because they suspected that he was not a sound Lutheran.

plan. A civil war broke out in Germany, the Protestant princes undertaking to support the archbishop in opposition to Ernest of Bavaria, appointed his successor. John Casimir was ready to espouse the cause and to form a grand Protestant alliance in which he should be supreme. The death of his elder brother, the Count Palatine, interrupted these plans, as he was called back to Heidelberg to assume the succession. Truchses was forced to fly from Cologne and took refuge with the Prince of Orange.

In Antwerp, the feeling against Orange became very bitter by the early summer of 1583. The people could not understand his motives in endeavouring to reinstate Anjou in the authority he had misused. They feared the French, and thought the only gifts to be expected were fragile promises. In one disturbance that took place early in July, the crowd actually forced the prince back from the city gate[1] as he was going out, with the cry: "Traitor, he is about to deliver Antwerp to the French!" A few days later there was a report that he intended to fortify himself in the citadel. An irate mob threatened to attack his person and were only calmed with difficulty. The magistrates were timid and feared to punish the offenders for this outrage. The prince was deeply hurt at this lack of confidence in him, on the part of those who should have believed in his faith as in their own. He was expecting to go to Middelburg where the states-general were assembled. After this occurrence he hastened his departure and left Antwerp precipitately on July

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 233; Hoofd, xx., 810.

22d, indignant that an insult to him should have been allowed to pass unpunished.[1] At the same time or shortly afterwards his family went to Delft, where they took up their abode in the old convent of St. Agatha.[2]

One of the first actions of the general body was again to ask the prince to charge himself with the central government. He responded to the request on September 6th,[3] in a long document, accepting the office *ad interim* only, and reserving the right of resignation if the provinces did not conform to the order established. The assembly that met at Middelburg took the name of states-general, though, in truth, the whole public were no longer adequately represented.[4] The states of Brabant were reduced to a small number of nobles, and to the cities of

[1] It may have been that Antwerp quickly repented her ingratitude towards the man who had been her defender. On August 20th, there was recorded "An act of the burgomasters, sheriffs, treasurers, receiver, council, citizens, and common inhabitants of Antwerp," to give an income of 2000 Rhine florins to Emilia Antwerpiana the prince's youngest daughter.—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 349.

[2] Louise Coligny found this journey a very trying experience. "She told my father that she was greatly surprised at the difference between French and Dutch customs. She was put in an open wagon instead of a carriage, and had nothing to sit on but a board. In the short distance between Rotterdam and Delft she was almost shaken to pieces."—Aubéry du Maurier, *Mémoires.*

[3] Gachard, *Cor.*, v., 173. This had already been done by an act of February 1st. His authority was intermediary and restricted, the co-operation of the council of state being stipulated. Orange had accepted this tentatively.

[4] The abbots who composed the ecclesiastical estate had been, for the most part, forced from their monasteries or had abandoned them voluntarily.—Gachard, *Cor.*, v. xx.

Brussels and Antwerp, while many of the other provinces were either not represented at all, or very meagrely.

The prince was still deeply interested in the question of the recreant protector and did not abate his efforts to reinstate him. Des Pruneaux, on Anjou's side, was untiring in his attempts to arrange matters. In September, he addressed a long letter to the states, urging them to complete their arrangements with his master.[1] "His Highness only hopes that they will not drown in order to avenge themselves." Every possible argument is urged to persuade the august body to cease their delays. But nothing is so difficult to mend as broken faith. Anjou again approached the provinces and wrote[2] to the prince from Cambray:

"My Cousin: In accordance with the resolution adopted by myself and my mother, I came hither yesterday with a good escort, and every day new volunteers flock to my standard. All the troops who were in Flanders ought to be here within a couple of days. I hope to be able to put 1800 horse and 8000 foot in the field, losing as little time as possible. But I have infinite cause to complain of the states, from whom I have not received a single line since I left Dunkerque. If I behaved as they do, in which I should be quite justified, everything would be in worse train. But I will prove to the whole world that I am not to blame if their affairs go ill. They would better bear that in mind as they are the interested party."

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 241.

[2] *Ibid.*, 252.

In October and November, he wrote again to Orange, describing Parma's overtures to him, with assurances that he, the honest Anjou, meant to hold firm to his treaty with the states.

Count John's letters to the prince at this time are full of gloomy forebodings. He seems to have abandoned all hopes of seeing better times.[1] He mentions that the deputies to the diet have been at Frankfort for some time, but they do not seem to do anything. Of the Saxon deputy, Volmar Berlepsch,[2] he adds: "He does not understand the business and will only do the more mischief, as he is credited with being an atheist and a small, mean-spirited man. The Brandenburger deputy is good, but they say he is under Berlepsch's thumb and lets himself be led by the nose."

In January, the prince was very anxious about a strong royalist movement in Ghent. The immediate issue was very uncertain. He wrote to that old unruly spirit, Imbize, urging him to act with the "generality," and to keep in touch with that other demagogue, Ryhove, now Governor of Termonde.[3] As often before, Orange felt that he must use what material he could get, not what he wanted.

On January 29th, Frederic Henry, the prince's twelfth child, was born at Delft.[4] On the 30th, the

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 274.

[2] This is the man who was sent to Anne of Saxony at Cologne in 1570.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 305.

[4] *Rés. des états-généraux*, Jan. 30th and June 12th. This youngest son was the only one to hand down his father's name to posterity. See Groen, *Archives*, viii., 404.

states sent a deputation to congratulate Orange. The baptism did not, however, take place until June 12th. The Kings of Navarre and Denmark and the estates of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht were his sponsors.

On January 21st, Count John wrote to Orange, again urging the abandonment of the French alliance. To this the prince replied on February 22d, with a long letter, in which he describes the situation in detail,[1]—the sectional jealousy, the narrowness of the reformers, the treachery of the Romanists. The failure of Truchses to form a coherent party had further injured the chances of the Protestants as a whole. In Friesland, William Louis of Nassau had been appointed stadtholder by unanimous vote, but elsewhere in the Netherlands, the prince does not know whom to trust. Besides this letter there are several others to the same effect.[2] It seemed as though the writer craved for fraternal sympathy. But little was offered. Count John could not approve his brother's course.

On March 18th, he writes two, one in answer to a letter, the other replying to a formal memoir which urged return to Spanish allegiance, to Philip's protection. The first is very depressed in tone. He confesses that the outlook is indeed black:

"If, in this dire need, I were offered any practical advice, that would be to my heart's desire. Everyone is wise enough to criticise, but no one points to a better way. I am told to beware of aid from France. Dangers

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 313.

[2] *Ibid.*, 328.

from that quarter are not unknown to me. Probably I am better informed than those who talk, and the matter touches me more nearly than anyone else. To whom do they counsel me to turn? No particle of aid has ever come to us from the German princes, in response to our entreaties. This is, perhaps, owing to difference of creed, but they allow their own brothers, too, to be trampled upon by the papists, etc. . . .

"I do not, however, wish to excuse my faults by showing those of others, but I am sick of calumnies and misrepresentations. . . . When the states ask me if I see other aid than that of France, I cannot deceive them. When they ask me if I feel sure of that, again I say, no. Then if they decide to try it, both for the sake of avoiding having France for an enemy and to annoy the King of Spain, perhaps they may gain the same assistance that the great German princes won from the late French king. If such a resolution be taken, I confess I will not go against it. Your theologians and others say this course is against God's word."

Then follows a repetition of the old arguments:

"As to my honour, since I need to defend it, I may, speaking to my brother, express myself more boldly than to a stranger of our House. Is there anyone who can claim to have worked more, suffered more, lost more than I have in my endeavours to plant, advance, maintain the churches?"

He adds in a postscript:

"My brother, these letters were written a week ago. Since then we have had reliable information that certain Ghent folk are in treaty with the Prince of Parma.

I only wish that your theologians would explain the consciences of such people who can thus easily abandon their brothers. . . . I hear that Dathenus is one of the councillors in this most honourable capitulation. As to the 5000 florins, they are at Frankfort in the same house where the same sum was placed last year. I do not see my way to the successive payments, considering the present stress of our affairs."

In the preface to the reply to the memoir sent by his brother, the prince explains that he understands perfectly that the paper does not emanate from the count. John must take the answer as addressed to the real instigators of the suggestion that a reconciliation should be effected with Spain. The arguments against such a course are repeated, though it can well be imagined that it was wearisome reiteration to the writer:

"If they touch on our private affairs, I rely on my conviction that you, monsieur my brother, and I, have done the king and the emperor such good service that we could never efface the memory of the same from their hearts. I, for one, do not wish to try, but am resolved to strain every nerve for the defence of the country, religion, and liberty, hoping that God will not abandon me."

The difficulties of the situation were patent to everyone, as can be seen by the following letter from the landgrave to the count:

"My long delay in answering yours of the 18th instant, was not only because I was busy, but because of the very tough questions which I must acknowledge are

over my head *(caput)*. The longer I meditate on them, the more insoluble and difficult do they appear to me, until I feel like the philosopher who tried to define *Quid esset Deus*, and pondered time on time over it. The longer he pondered the farther he was from a conclusion."

William cannot see what is coming. All that he is sure of is, that affairs might be handled faithfully and cautiously if one did not sit between two stools. A few days later the landgrave writes again to John, thanking him for a portrait of the Prince of Orange, which he had borrowed three years previously to have "copied in our own house at Cassel." As the original in Dillenburg was burned with the house, this copy,[1] still preserved at Cassel, is the only youthful portrait of the prince in existence.

Shortly after these dreary prognostics of the landgrave, in which Count John perfectly agreed with him, Ypres went formally over to Parma. On May 20th, Bruges and the surrounding country were also delivered to Philip's sovereignty. In Ghent, party spirit ran high, now one faction, now another, being in the ascendant. In the middle of the month the Nationalists were uppermost, and they declared their intention of cleaving to "the generality" and to the prince.

During the winter and spring Anjou remained at Château-Thierry, no nearer, in spite of agreements, to resumption of power than at any time since his futile attack on Antwerp. There were rumours, more or less vague, about his alliance with the Eng-

[1] Frontispiece, vol. i. See Portraits, etc., Appendix.

lish queen. Orange neglected no opportunity, therefore, of trying to strengthen ties with Elizabeth, who blew now hot and now cold. No one really believed in Anjou either as a power or as a danger. Nor was there need of dreading him, nor foundation for hoping good from his hand. On May 4th, he wrote to his Flemish friends assuring them that the reports about his ill-health were all false. The decay, however, inherent in all Catherine's children, was working in his miserable, unsound body, while his course of life would have wrecked the constitution of a Hercules. There are suspicions that he met his death foully; perhaps he did; though, in truth, little additional poison was needed to what he had drained in with his life. On June 10th, he expired in great torment, sweating blood at every pore, and thus ceased to be a problem in Netherland politics. Weak, treacherous, untrue, without the slightest sense of shame, he had played out his part, no mortal the better for his living in this world.

The Prince of Orange, still ignorant of this last check to his plans, saw his youngest son christened at Delft, on June 12th, where a fine feast was offered by the states. The news of Anjou's death seems to have been long in reaching the Netherlands. Not until June 23d, is there any mention of it in the letters. June 24th is the date of the prince's letters of condolence to Catherine and Henry III. Letters were on their way to the duke from the states, when death overtook him, and the prince begs the royal mourners not to forget the Netherlands thus suddenly bereft of their protector.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HOLLAND'S CHOICE.

1584.

IN the progress of this narrative, it has been clear that the prince's dream was to establish a constitutional government for the United Netherlands. For a brief space the provinces were bound together by the Pacification of Ghent, and there was fair prospect that this project would prove no dream, but a substantial fabric, a solid foundation for an independent European state. But at the disintegrating touch of sectional interests, of theological differences, the union dissolved, and in history, the name of William of Nassau has not been identified with those seventeen units whose joint interests he had at heart, but with Holland.

It was Holland who gave her name to the little Protestant republic, of which Orange was the unwilling founder. His scheme had been far larger, far more comprehensive, far more catholic, far more tolerant, and far more democratic in fact, though it had included a protector of royal blood. He never saw

the republic of which he is called the father. A brief summary of the relations which the prince bore to Holland at the time of his death must be given here, though some of the details have been previously related.

While the process of disintegration which the prince was powerless to stay, was going on in the southern and western country, while Anjou was received, and played out his wretched part in Brabant, while Parma was winning back the Walloon provinces with the sword, smiles, or silver, as he found them the more potent factors, Holland and Zealand were left comparatively free to pursue the even tenor of their way. They never faltered in their refusal to accept Anjou, but recognised him simply as protector of their allies.[1]

After Jaureguy's attempt on the prince's life, the title of Count of Holland was again pressed upon Orange, and he finally accepted it from Bruges, August 14, 1582, in the following letter[2]:

"We, William, Prince of Orange, etc., greeting: Whereas the deputies of Holland and Zealand have declared that the King of Spain had forfeited his rights as Count of Holland and Zealand, and have begged us to accept the said counties and the seigniory of the said lands so as to govern them in the quality and with the title of count, we have gratefully yielded to their request, and by these presents accept the counties of Holland and Zealand to protect them against the King of Spain, and

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 410 *et seq.*

[2] Offer of Countship of Holland, etc., to Orange. Bor, iii., 186 *et seq.*, condensed.

to administer justice and prevent any infringement of the Treaty of Bordeaux.

"BRUGES, August 14th."

The letters-patent or "*Renversal*," as they were technically called, which bestowed this title legally on its recipient, were signed by the three eldest nobles.[1] They were sent to all the cities and received twenty-five separate seals at different dates.[2] In 1583 all was ready. February 15th was appointed for the prince to go to Holland to be duly invested with the title of count.[3] But when that day came, it was impossible for him to leave Antwerp in the state of confusion and uncertainty into which it had been thrown by the treacherous schemes of the French protector. This event made Holland the more anxious to bring the matter of the countship to a conclusion. Groen considers that the prince was all the more willing to meet their wishes in this point, as his mind was bent on opposing their will and on restoring Anjou to the position of trust that he had so wantonly abandoned.

The Dutch archivist considers that the acceptance of Orange was in the nature of a bargain, to induce the Hollanders to agree to further treating with Anjou.[4] In the prince's letters little is made of the

[1] Bor. iii., 187 *et seq.*

[2] This document was delivered to the prince and is still preserved in the archives of the royal family.

[3] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 417 *et seq.*

[4] Lettenhove takes an exactly opposite view. He thinks that the prince was simply seeking honours for himself, and preparing a private nest of refuge in case of new storms.

offer. It is referred to but casually, as a matter of slight importance.

On May 10, 1583, the states of Holland addressed a circular-letter[1] to the states of Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, Brabant, Flanders, Guelderland, and the states-general, giving an historical sketch of the life and services of William of Nassau, together with the weighty reasons which had induced them to urge him to accept the Countship of Holland. They had taken the step after "frequent communication and counsel with the cities, after having heard the advice of the colleges and of the municipalities, as well as that of the magistrates and senates, and of all other persons whom it is fitting to consult and whose advice is usually asked." They, moreover, expressed the hope that the measure would meet with the approval of all their sister provinces, and with the especial co-operation of those estates with whom they were accustomed to act.

On the 15th of November, 1583, the deputies of Zealand and Utrecht, who were the estates thus referred to, formally declared their intention to remain in their ancient friendship and union with Holland, "under one sovereignty and government." An act to this effect was drawn up to be referred for ratification to their principals, at the next assembly. It had not, however, been ratified when the proceedings were ended by the prince's death. Holland accepted this formality as sufficient, and the act of

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 418. Bor, iii., 187, gives this as addressed only to Utrecht. Kluit, i., 322 (see Groen and Motley), shows that it was a general letter.

MAP OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES.

(Redrawn from *Atlas of the Netherlands*, by Hendrik de Leth.)

"*Renversal*" was accordingly delivered on the 7th of December, 1583.[1] On the 30th of the same month, forty-nine articles containing a plan for a free commonwealth were agreed upon by the prince and the estates, as the fundamental conditions under which he should be invested with the countship. The prince accepted the dignity and the articles, only upon the further stipulation that the whole proceeding should be once more confirmed by the senates and the cities.

This new constitution repeated, in the main, the articles of the Union of Delft, but the powers given to the prince as stadtholder of Philip, were now bestowed upon him in virtue of the new countship, which, however, differed radically from that dignity as held by the former incumbent. The divine right was swept away. The sovereignty was counted as the gift of the public through their representatives, the estates. The title was, however, made hereditary in this fashion.[2] "After the death of his Grace, the estates of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, will receive as count of the said lands, the one of his legitimate sons whom they may judge the most worthy of the dignity." This was to ensure the exclusion of the Spanishised Philip, Count of Buren.[3]

By this new arrangement William of Nassau had far less authority, was far more limited in his action, than

[1] Bor, iii., 186. Thus, in Groen's opinion the prince was Count of Holland, *de facto*, at the time of his death.—*Ibid.*, 191, 194.

[2] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 437.

[3] Dordrecht changed this article to "one of his Excellency's legitimate children, son or daughter, who, not being married, would marry only with the consent of the states."—*Ibid.*, 437.

he had been since he set foot within the provinces in 1572. His authority was curbed, not augmented. Instead of being, practically, dictator on land and sea, he consented to become an executive with restricted prerogatives, an administrator of affairs in behalf of a deliberative body. The states were made the seat of power, and Orange agreed that they should be so made. Some of the prince's adherents in Utrecht objected very strongly to these articles,[1] urging that they were far too circumscribed in scope, too much to the advantage of the states and too little to that of the citizens. With this tendency the prince was not in sympathy. He would have preferred giving more weight to the opinions of the people at large, but he did not think it wise to press that opinion at that crisis.

After the articles were accepted, the matter still hung fire from one cause or another. Finally, the prince himself urged that it should be completed. This is not inconsistent with his previous reluctance to accept the dignity. He had been slow to come to a decision, but after doing so in Bruges, in 1582, he considered the transaction placed on a different footing, and in 1584, he thought it was only due to himself and to the provinces that it should be brought to a conclusion. The states had taken the initiative and urged him to accept a title which, indeed, he did not regard as wholly advantageous to him, but

[1] "Zyo gelimiteerd en gerestringeerd dat naauwelyks een persoon van zeer kleine qualite ze zou kunnen goed keuren. Zeer weinig tot voordeel van de privelegien en vryheid der burgers daarin wordt gezegd."—Bor, iii., 380.

which they considered an honour in their gift. Both offer and acceptance had been public, and he thought it unbefitting his honour and that of the provinces that the delay in completing the gift should also be public.

Early in July he presented the following memoir[1] to the states of Holland:

"GENTLEMEN: We must remind you, that you, together with the people of Zealand, voluntarily gave us certain acts declaring that you took us for your count and lord, and upon such terms as might be arranged . . . the same act being dated March 29, 1580. Some time afterwards, in the month of August, 1582, you were pleased to send certain deputies to us at Bruges, expressly to urge us to make an end of the affair, and asking us to state the conditions upon which we would accept the dignity. After you had seen the said conditions stated in articles, you wrote to us the —— of ——, '83,[2]—that you approved them. Since then you have written to all the provinces which remain united, advising them of your resolution to make us your count and lord. In last December, you, before an assembly of all the states, presented to us the letters of acceptance that you had received from our person, duly sealed with the city's seals, together with the articles you had agreed upon, which had been signed by all the cities except Amsterdam and Ter Goes.

"This matter has been discussed so often in the states

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 428. On the margin is written: "Presented by his Excellency to the states of Holland, in the beginning of July, 1584." Groen says this document is not in the Holland register.

[2] So in text.

of Holland and also in the private assemblies of the cities, and offered to the other provinces, that it cannot remain hidden or secret.[1] It is not only public property in these lands, but there is no kingdom or country in Christendom where it has not been discussed. As it is patent how long the affair drags on, every one has the right to draw his own conclusion, as they will do, according to their sympathies. And as it behooves you and us to heed the common weal above all, public honour ought to be cherished. Nevertheless, you cannot be ignorant of the fact that opportunity is given to people to talk.

"If the affairs of the land were well conducted meanwhile, this inconvenience might be borne, but you know that the contrary is the case and that uncertainty in all quarters of this republic causes a confusion, or great imperfection in many things, as reformation in all directions is postponed until affairs are on a fixed basis. People talk and act without restraint, with no fear of punishment, and if we, having as little authority as we have, should arrest anyone in the course of justice, we should be criticised at once, as though we were acting privately and not in behalf of the whole land and republic.

"All these considerations move us, gentlemen, to beg you people in a friendly manner, to make an end to this business and help us to uphold our honour and reputation, as well as to help you to establish all affairs in such a state and order that the land and republic may be thereby benefited. While you delay your resolution about the solemn inauguration, see, above all, that some temporary steps are taken so that these annoyances may be obviated. When no laws or statutes can be enforced

[1] The first offer was secret.

for lack of efficient authority, then it is plain to every one, that, without such authority, all laws and ordinances are like a body without a soul. Give us, pray, such authority, backed by the counsel with which you can aid us, that we may uphold justice, laws, and ordinances both old and new, as they are enacted for the common weal.

"May it please you to exchange the necessary oaths with us, so that we shall be duly qualified to enable us to regulate all things officially. May you be pleased, also, to order that we may have control over the tribunals, as justice cannot be exercised without authority, and to arrange that they may offer us the oath of fidelity. Let authority be accorded to us, also, over the chamber of finance. And, as from time immemorial, the land of Zealand has been allied with this province of Holland, it is fitting that the two should continue to hold together. Therefore, may it please you to send deputies to Zealand to communicate with the states of that land, and to urge them to the completion of the presentation that they offered us.

"Meanwhile, waiting the solemnisation of the affair and the decision of Zealand, may it please you to determine what title we shall use in letters and ordinances, and also what seal in dispatches, so that all the business of the land may be expedited."

The initiative had been with the states, but deliberative bodies rarely act with unanimity, and there was some dissent among the deputies when the matter was on the point of completion. The most vehement protest against completing this gift to the prince, was made before the council of Amsterdam in June, 1584, by C. P. Hoofd, the father of the his-

torian, who passes over the incident in complete silence. Hoofd, the father, said that he really could not see what advantage it would be to bestow the countship upon the prince. Moreover, it did not seem to him in accordance with the Union of Utrecht that some of the allies should take an independent step.[1]

Kluit suggests that Hoofd, though he thought it useless to bestow the title of count on the prince, had no desire to withdraw the power that Orange had been exercising for many years. The opposition was, however, individual and not well received. The bestowal of this title at this epoch was a natural outcome of the abjuration of Philip's authority in 1581. It was a declaration plain and simple, that Holland and the sister states who went with her, had no intention of following the example of the Walloon provinces.

The general decision had been reached long since. Intervening accidents and the inertia of a slow-moving body had delayed the completion of the gift. This formal reminder from the prince is one of the last papers coming from his hand. Undoubtedly it would have carried weight, and his inauguration as Count of Holland would have speedily followed.[2] At his death, the states considered themselves pos-

[1] Groen, *Archives*, viii., 424. Lettenhove gives the speech in full, and considers it an expression of the general ill-will against the prince.

[2] Strada, ii., v., 213, says that Orange had prepared coins, which were found after his death, with the inscription *Nova moneta Comit Hollandiæ ac Zelandiæ*. These were to be thrown to the crowd on the day of inauguration.

sessed of the sovereignty that they had not entirely given away. Maurice of Nassau, his brother, and their successors bore a different nominal relation to the provinces from that which they might have held had it not been for the event of July, 1584. When the Prince of Orange fell, the government, with the administrative powers lodged in the states, continued in being for the provinces accepting the Union of Utrecht. There were some changes, but seven provinces remained within its bonds. How they accepted Holland's lead and became the United Netherlands, and, later, the kingdom of Holland, where Wilhelmina of Nassau reigns to-day as queen by inheritance, belongs to another history than that of the William who was stadtholder to the King of Spain, and servant to the people who afterwards honoured him with the name of Father of the Dutch Republic.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE BAN SUCCESSFUL.

1584.

THE early summer of 1584, found the Prince of Orange living in Delft in the old convent of St. Agatha. It is a quiet, sleepy spot, unpretentious and simple. The steam tram from The Hague enters the little town at the Hague Gate, and makes its way through the broad, straight street, *Oud Delft*. A sluggish canal flows tranquilly through the middle of this way. A few freight boats creep slowly along, looking scornfully on this new-time means of transportation, which passes them rapidly, but with no undue bustle or noisy bell-ringing to jar on the repose, which seems to be an inherent quality of the place.

On one side of the canal, nearly half-way between the Hague and Rotterdam gates, is the Church of the Holy Spirit. A little bridge crosses the canal from the church gate to the entrance of the old convent on the opposite side. When this peaceful abode for quiet and holy women, who had once found their

vocation within the walls, became the prince's residence, the name of St. Agatha was abandoned, and the modest two-story brick structure was termed the Prinsenhof.[1] The name was changed, but the atmosphere of its former use clung about the place, and there was nothing grand or princely in its aspect. No garden separates the house from the street. A plain door, giving on the shady sidewalk, opens into a court. At the rear were stables, which backed upon the ramparts and moat. On one side was a narrow lane, leading from the street to the ramparts; on the other was the entrance to the house. On the left of the passage way into which the outer door opens, is a large hall, used by the Nassaus in 1584 as a dining-room. Three or four steps lead up to this. On the right is an archway, and beyond are the stairs leading to the upper rooms.

No place could seem farther removed from the dangers of the world, especially from the thought of murder and bloodshed. Antwerp was a cosmopolitan city, with merchants coming and going from all quarters, with sailors and other folk of all nations thronging the streets. Delft is, and was, very different, and here the family party, centred around the prince, must have felt comparatively safe.

During the months that had elapsed since Jaureguy's unsuccessful attempt on the life of Orange,

[1] Before 1583, the states-general sat here from time to time. For many years it was used as barracks. Now it has been restored, dedicated to the memory of William of Orange, and is used as a museum.

neither the price upon his head, nor the advantage to accrue to religion if he were removed, had ever been wholly forgotten. The plot of Juan de Salcedo and Francesco de Basa to assassinate both Orange and Anjou at Bruges has been touched on.[1] In the same summer of 1582, one Pedro Ordoño, a Spaniard, who had served in the Netherlands and knew the ways of the land, went to Lisbon for the express purpose of visiting Philip, and seeing what terms would be made with him for the prince's murder. His proposition was accepted with alacrity. Don Juan de Idiaquez, Secretary of State, furnished Ordoño with six hundred crowns to defray the expense of his journey, besides giving him a letter to Parma. On his way to the Netherlands, Ordoño wrote to Philip that he was just about to depart from Gravelines for Antwerp, which he would never leave until his mission was accomplished. His assertion was true. The deed was never accomplished, nor did he leave the city. The plot was discovered on March 2d, and he was beheaded on the following day. "I saw him in prison," writes Le Petit; "sure never was there a man poorer in courage for so big an enterprise." [2]

Bor, Le Petit, and Meteren tell about a certain Hans Hanszoon, a Flushing merchant, who formed a gunpowder plot against the prince. It was discovered, and the man was executed. Gachard, however, doubts the authenticity of this story. All three historians claim that this man had plotted in council

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., lxxviii.

[2] Petit, *Grande Chronique de Hollande et Zealande*, xiii., ii., 471.

with Jean Baptiste de Tassis, in whose papers no trace of the project is found.[1]

In 1583, four Spanish officers, who had gone over to Orange for different reasons of offended dignity, conceived the idea of reinstating themselves in their monarch's favour by doing him a signal service. Philip's offers in regard to the patriot leader were always open, and they determined to win honour through the prince's life, and to take over Flushing to the king at the same time. Tassis wrote fully about this project to Parma. All seemed in good train, when the plan was suddenly abandoned.

In April, 1584, a certain French officer, one Get or Gott, was captured by Marquis Roubaix, then camping at Eccloo.[2] It was not the first time that Captain Get had fallen into the hands of the enemy. On the last occasion he had saved himself by swimming. He was afraid that this fact might be remembered against him, and that he would be kept in close confinement. Therefore he insinuated that if he could do Roubaix any service, he would not be found wanting. The marquis made several propositions which Get declined. Then he asked if he could not put the Prince of Orange out of the way.[3] To this Get replied that he thought that was something within his power, and at once suggested poison as the best weapon, for he knew the prince's steward,

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[1] Gachard also searched the Flushing archives, but found no records of this man's execution.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 121, 122, 129.

[3] The letters between Roubaix and Parma on the subject are in existence. *Ibid.*, 121, 125. See also *Relation officielle*, *ibid.*, 129.

and could get access to the kitchen. Roubaix was incredulous of his success in that direction, saying that even if he were in the kitchen he could not know what dish the prince would choose at table. Get reassured him. The prince was very fond of a certain eel soup, cooked in a little pot, the cover of which was pierced, to allow the exit of the steam. Roubaix saw by this detail that the man did know the kitchen. He then inquired the motives for his treachery, when he stood so well with the prince. Get answered that the French were out of reputation in Flanders; everyone called them traitors. He was poor, and had heard that the Spanish king would make any one rich who succeeded in ridding him of his arch-enemy. Farnese did not have much faith in the truth of this man's assertions. He thought he only wanted to get free, but he told Roubaix to follow his own judgment in the matter. Get was let off, and straightway went to the prince and boasted of having refused all temptation to play him false.

All these would-be assassins[1] were actuated solely by interested motives, by the desire of gaining Philip's countenance, by the hope of winning back lost reputation, and above all by the wish for Spanish coin. No such incentives as these proved sufficiently powerful to push the project through to completion. Anastro had wanted the price, but his life was dearer to him than money, while his tool acceded to his proposition, not for the sake of the guilders, but be-

[1] Besides these attempts which were chronicled, there were, undoubtedly, many other creatures who had the murder in mind, and only lacked opportunity to execute it.

cause he honestly believed that thereby he was doing a work blessed of God. Only one influenced by a thought apart from his own personality could be fortified by courage to expose himself to so deadly a risk. The deed could only be accomplished by a conscientious fanatic, in short. And such a one appeared upon the scene in 1584.

Balthazar Gérard was born in the year 1557, in Villafans, a tiny village in Burgundy.[1] He was the ninth child of Jean Gérard, castellan and judge of Villafans, and of one Barbara d'Emskercke, who was descended from the Counts of Holland. The whole family were devoted, heart and soul, to the Catholic faith and to the king. Balthazar was a religious enthusiast from his earliest years. Renon de France claims to have

[1] Contemporary accounts of the assassination are full and detailed. The chief sources of this narrative are as follows: (1) Two statements made by Gérard to the Prince of Parma and to the Councillor d'Assonleville.—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 111. (2) Letter of the pretended Francis Guion to the Prince of Orange.—*De Moord van 1584*, p. 116. [Collection of documents relating to the death of Orange, published by M. Nijhoff, 1884.] (3) *Confession de Balthazar Gérard*, July 10, 1584, written in the janitor's room of the Prinsenhof immediately after the murder.—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 163. (4) *Relation officielle de l'assassinat du prince d'Orange*, July 10, 1584. This was drawn up at Delft after the assassination.—*Ibid.*, 126. (5) *Extrait du Recueil manuscrit de frère Jean Ballin, concernant l'assassinat du prince d'Orange et l'exécution de Balthazar Gérard.*—*Ibid.*, 144. (6) *Extrait de Renon de France concernant le meurtre du prince d'Orange.*—*Ibid.*, 157. (7) *Extraits des résolutions des états généraux et des états de Hollande et de West Frise, concernant l'assassinat du prince d'Orange.*—*Ibid.*, 170, 173. (8) Two letters from Cornélis Aerssens to burgomasters, etc., of Brussels.—*Ibid.*, 186, 192. (9) Sentence of death of Balthazar Gérard.—*Ibid.*, 189. (10) Le Petit, *Grande Chronique*, p. 492. See *Ibid.*, cvii. This author was in Delft on July 10th. Other references given in text.

learned details from his fellow-pupils which show how early in life one idea took possession of his whole soul. He was scarcely twelve years old when, hearing his elders discuss the evil wrought by the Netherland Beggars, at the instance of the Prince of Orange, he boldly declared that he would kill the man who had caused so much ill.

In 1577, he chanced to be in the house of John Villaux at Dôle when he heard of the rupture between the states and Don John. Seizing a dagger in his hand he lanced it against a door with all his force. "I wish," he cried, "that this blow had been given in the heart of the Prince of Orange." This speech shocked a bystander, one Ponthier, who reproved the young man, saying it was not his business to kill or threaten princes. If it were the king's will that Nassau should die, his Majesty was well able to bring it about. Probably he did not wish to lose lightly so valiant a captain while there was any chance of bringing him back to loyal ways.

"Giving ear to this remonstrance, I left it all to the direction of God and his Majesty. But, as, about three years ago I heard that his Majesty had issued a sentence of death against the said Nassau in the form of a proscription, and as the execution of justice and the king's will seemed long delayed, I put my private affairs in order, left Burgundy and came hither on purpose to carry out the said sentence. This was in February, 1582."

When this determined murderer with his "inveterate purpose" reached the city of Luxemburg in the following March, he heard that a "gentle Biscayan,

since deceased," had slain the prince. Whereupon he promptly gave thanks to Heaven, who had thus excused him from exposure to danger. The rumours of the prince's death from his wounds seemed so well substantiated, that Gérard's mind was fully relieved. His intended occupation gone, he entered the service of one John Dupré, his own cousin, secretary to Mansfeld, then royal Governor of Luxemburg, and marshal-general of Philip's army. When the news of Orange's recovery came, Gérard decided to complete the unfinished task. He conceived the idea of making capital out of his present position, so as to further the cherished project. Therefore he practised Mansfeld's signature and made, in red wax, a large number of impressions of Mansfeld's seals [*cachets volants*], thinking that he could worm himself into Orange's confidence by means of these.

In June, 1583, he took leave of Dupré, and was about to quit Luxemburg, when four hundred and fifty crowns were stolen from his master. Fearing lest his going just then, might look like a guilty flight, and that the theft might be laid to his door, Gérard delayed his departure a while. The lost money was recovered. An illness of Dupré kept him a few weeks longer, so that his purpose was not fulfilled until March, 1584. He told Dupré that he was going to Spain. The latter tried to detain him, but finally they bade each other adieu, and Gérard went on his chosen mission. "In order not to proceed in my deliberation to the prejudice of the king, and also to remove my own conscientious scruples, I went first to Treves, where I confessed my purpose to a

worthy and learned man, a member of the Society of Jesus, living in the college at Treves. I showed him the seals, begging him to keep my secret until after Easter, and then to communicate it to Count Mansfeld." The good Jesuit deemed this enterprise a dangerous one, and was especially troubled about the misuse of the seals, and expressed his unwillingness to be mixed up in the business.[1]

In accordance with this advice Gérard decided to give greater security to himself and greater dignity to his plan by taking Parma into his confidence. Without loss of time Gérard betook himself to Tournay, where Parma was. He was given audience on March 21st, and presented a written statement that he had prepared, telling of his intention.[2] At first, Parma thought that Gérard was too insignificant and wretched-looking to have any prospect of being able to accomplish his big design. As he wrote to the king: "The character of the person did not promise well for an enterprise of so great im-

[1] This is what Gérard says in his *Confession* (Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 167): On the examination of July 11th, after torture, he said that this Jesuit, a red-haired man whose name he did not know [Dict que le dict Jesuyte estoit régent du college illecq et rosseau de couleur, mais que son nom ne luy est pas cogneu], afterwards told him that he would be ranked with the martyrs if he succeeded in his enterprise. Motley speaks of two priests at Treves. It seems to me that but one is referred to, and that Gérard endeavoured to shield him at first, making the additional statement under torture, concerning the same person. In the *Relation officielle* it is stated that Gérard at last confessed that three other members of the Jesuit college were informed of the intention. In the minutes of the examination no such admission is entered.

[2] Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 111.

portance."[1] However, he told Councillor d'Assonleville to examine the man further and see what he could make of him. To him Gérard entered into the details of his project, and suggested that a change should be made in Mansfeld's seal to prevent serious consequences did he succeed in imposing his copies on the prince, and that henceforth no lozenge-shaped seals should be cut.[2] He also begged Parma to obtain absolution from the pope for the crime he was about to commit. By this he did not mean the murder, but the intercourse that he must necessarily have "with heretics and atheists, and the adoption of their habits."

The story was reported to Parma with a request for some money to assist the schemer to carry out his device. Parma was willing to let the man go on his own way, but he had grown weary of the demands of cutthroats and fanatics, and entirely declined to give the new adventurer the hundred crowns he coolly demanded. Too many Italians and soldiers had squeezed money out of the royal purse on the same pretext. Assonleville, therefore, told Gérard that he had little chance of success and less of preserving his life. All the encouragement he would give him was to guarantee to him, or to his heirs, in Parma's name, the rewards offered in the proscription, if he were successful. The councillor further bade him to beware of compromising Farnese, and

[1] Parma to Philip, August 12th, Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 200.

[2] "A fin que S. E. se tienne sur ses gardes, et que son secretaire ne taille plus en forme de losange les cachets qu'il mettra sur ses passeports,"

then added: "Go, my child, if you accomplish the deed the king will fulfil all his promises and you will be immortalised." [1]

Before quitting Tournay, Gérard visited the convent of the Greyfriars and confessed himself to Friar Jean Ghéry, leaving with him copies of the two written statements he had made to the Duke of Parma and to Assonleville.[2] This friar was an ardent royalist and a devout Catholic, and gladly gave Gérard his blessing and promised to remember him in his prayers.

Assonleville had advised Gérard to bury his seals before entering any town, as a precaution, and this he did, but there are no further details about his journey from Tournay to Delft, where his victim was "safe in the very heart of Holland," as the councillor had pointed out to the undaunted assassin, now strengthened in his purpose by the sanction of king and priest. He was, in truth, whole-souled and of single purpose, from which nothing distracted him.

Early in May he reached Delft, and obtained access to the Calvinist minister, Villiers, to whom he showed the seals.[3] Villiers was interested in the man and assisted him to present the following letter [4] to Orange:

"MONSEIGNEUR: Since reason joined to faith and justice, was given by God to His elect, to exalt them above His other creatures, a man, whoever he may be, endowed

[1] *Relation officielle*, Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 126.
[2] *Ibid.*, 142.
[3] *Ibid.*, 167.
[4] *De Moord van 1584*, p. 116.

with this grace and neglecting it, is truly ungrateful. By His infinite goodness, the Lord having chosen me among others to serve Him, I can do no less (especially in these times, miserable in every respect) than to ally myself with the faithful of His church militant, to serve and to aid (as is the duty of all faithful evangelists) the valiant designs of your Excellency in every possible way. Considering that it is your Excellency alone, who, as chief and principal defender, bears all the burden of this quarrel, besides other reasons with which I will not weary your Excellency, all unbidden, I have dared to state the ground of my coming hither, and hereby I beg your Excellency to depute his secretary, or some other faithful person, to communicate with me and report to your Excellency. Assuring your Excellency that if I had the power to do anything in his service I would so do it at peril of my life, I humbly beg that henceforth I may serve the Lord without fear of death. In my native land, unworthy of such grace, I was deprived of this blessed liberty. I will repay by my humble devotion any favour that it may please your Excellency to show me in this place. Until then, monseigneur, I pray God that He may grant your Excellency a happy and long life in perfect health.

"From this city of Delft, May 6, 1584.

"The ever humble and affectionate servant of your
"Excellency, "François Guion."

The prince vouchsafed Gérard no answer at first. The man, "inveterate of purpose," urged his claim with persistence, and, after the lapse of several days, Orange deputed Villiers to give him a hearing.[1] At

[1] *Relation officielle*, Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 126 *et seq.*, with other references.

this time Gérard was about twenty-seven years old, and was a most unattractive, unprepossessing-looking person. He was short, spare, small-featured, with a thick, ugly complexion, his whole bearing stamped with insignificance. Parma had thought it impossible that any daring deed could emanate from so wretched a tool. Here in Delft, his tale that he had grown up in a town, despised of all men, kicked and cuffed from one to another because his parents had been executed for their religion, seemed exceedingly plausible, and was borne out by every inch of his appearance.

As a matter of fact, I believe that this mean habitation housed a spirit eaten up with vanity, which helped its possessor marvellously in the undertaking to which he had pledged his life. He was a religious fanatic, and desired ardently to rid the Church of her enemy, but, in addition to that, he gloated, as is shown in all his documents, over the fact that he, Balthazar Gérard, whom no one noticed except to pity or despise, had a bigger spirit of audacity than the giants who scornfully looked down on him. He was sufficiently educated and of ready enough tongue to play out the part he had adopted.

When Villiers invited him to relate his story, Gérard was all ready wlth his fabrication, having pondered so long over every detail that he was able to tell it naturally and in a manner to carry conviction of its truth. He was, so ran the plaintive tale, one François Guion, native of Besançon. His parents had been exiled from their home on the bridge on account of their religion, both being Huguenots.

Later they had returned to Besançon in hopes of better times, but were executed in company with other poor exiles who were taken by surprise in the said city towards the end of June, 1575. He, François, had been forced to endure insults from the papists because he persisted in cherishing the forbidden faith, and therefore he determined to seek a refuge where he could serve God after the fashion of the evangelists.

Two years previous he had arrived in Luxemburg, on his way to the prince, when he was taken ill and prevented from proceeding farther by his weakness and poverty. Accordingly, he took service with one Dupré, Mansfeld's secretary, and his cousin. "But as it seemed to me very difficult to please the Lord with secret service, I feared some ill would befall me by divine permission. Therefore, I left my master, after having taken copies of the said count's seal, in red wax." There had been a certain Brussels priest, also in Mansfeld's service, who suspected him of being lax in the observance of Catholic rites.[1] To escape him, he had pretended to go to Treves to take communion at Easter. The priest followed him thither, discovered the truth, and tried to seize his person, and in defending himself Gérard had slain the zealot. He had then fled from Treves, and had come direct to Holland. He was in a position to render valuable services to the prince, and, as a testi-

[1] "Which things and other rubbish I intend to relate to the said Nassau, so as to gain access to his presence as a step to the execution." Statement to Assonleville.

mony of the truth of his words, he drew out of his sleeve a package of Mansfeld's seals.

Such was the story, all false except the fact of the man's service with Dupré and his journey to Treves, but he had had sufficient local colour to make all his statements clear, and to save himself from contradiction.

The prince was interested in what Villiers told him, though, apparently, he did not ask to see the man. There was no way in which Orange, personally, could make use of the seals, but he thought that Marshal de Biron, lately appointed to the government of Cambray, might be able to utilise them in giving passports. Noel Caron, Lord of Schoonval, was appointed just then by the states on a mission to France, and Orange asked him to let the pretended Guion go in his suite and take his seals to Biron. This was not in accordance with Gérard's plan. He went, to avoid exciting suspicion, but, not seeing his way clear, he tried to stir up a quarrel with Schoonval's servants, so as to be sent back to Holland. When Anjou died at Château-Thierry, Gérard at once begged his patron to allow him to be the bearer of letters announcing the fact to the Prince of Orange and to the states. Permission was granted, and the man hastened back to Delft, assured that the long-sought opportunity was now to be his. He arrived at the convent when Orange was still in bed. After reading the dispatches which were carried to him without delay, the prince ordered that the messenger should be admitted to his room. "Now might I do it pat," thought the false Guion,

but he had no dagger with him,[1] so was forced to content his soul in patience.

He stayed in Delft and hung about the Prinsenhof. No one had the slightest suspicion that the French Calvinist was not what he seemed, so well did he play his part. He spent all his time in going to sermons or to prayers, and was never seen without his psalm, or some book of religion in his hand. He even borrowed a Bible from the porter, and insinuated himself, under pretext of the fellowship of his Protestant faith, into the confidence of many members of the household, who thought him a harmless fellow with no thought beyond his devotions. It was proposed to send him back to France with dispatches, to which he agreed, saying that he had nothing to keep him there, except that he sadly lacked money. In confirmation of this last statement he showed that his shoes were in actual holes. This was reported to Orange, who ordered that the poor fellow's necessities should be relieved. In accordance with his directions, on Sunday, July 8th, Gérard received a dozen crowns. Being thus furnished with funds by the very hand of his victim, Gérard bought, on the Monday, a little pistol from Réné, one of the prince's own guard.[2] Finding this imperfect, Gérard bought two more from Sergeant de Forest, serving in the company of Captain Caulier. He tested these

[1] "Et depuis estant prisonnier, ledict Guion a declaré que s'il eust eu sa dague alors, qu'il eust tué le prince en son lict." This item is given in the *Relation officielle*, but does not appear either in Gérard's confession or the records of the examination under torture.

[2] These details are given by Le Petit, who was present in Delft at the time. See Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., cvii. ; *Relation officielle*, 134.

three or four times, and then tried to provide himself with *balles ramées*, and quarrelled with a soldier of the guard who refused to make them for him. Not having time on the Monday to complete the arrangements for his own escape, he was obliged to defer the completion of his plan of assassination till the morrow.

All unconscious of this snake lurking in his path, the prince pursued the even tenor of his way. It was a way full of many anxieties, but apprehension for his own personal safety was not counted. When little Frederic Henry was christened on June 12th, Orange took the occasion to communicate the designs of Parma against Ghent.[1] Martini, bailiff of Antwerp, observed that the city was provisioned for a year. "If I am not there within two months, the Prince of Parma will make it impossible to reach the town at all," replied his Excellency. In his opinion it was needful to pierce a dyke at once to ensure free water communication before Parma should draw closer. This was not done, and the Ghenters said, a few weeks later, that all their losses overwhelmed them because this last advice was not followed.

The memoir to the states of Holland, described in the last chapter, was prepared in June. The date, however, is not given. The last letters[2] from the prince's hand were those of June 24th, to Catherine

[1] In May, the popular party got the upper hand in Ghent. Treating with the enemy was broken off and efforts were made to induce the people to declare their allegiance to Orange and the "generality." Parma was preparing to take the town by storm.

[2] At least of the published letters.

de Medici and Henry III. on the death of Anjou. There is no doubt that this event was a great disappointment to Orange. He did not know which way to turn, so that undoubtedly the sixteen days of life that remained to him were absorbed in planning a new course of action, now that his hopes of a close French alliance were dashed.

Some time in May or June, the prince had considered making his will, and he consulted several persons on the subject, but did not achieve his purpose.[1] He thought, perhaps, that it could well wait until the matter of the countship was settled. The states-general were in session at Delft, and Orange was, possibly, too closely occupied with pressing public business to spare time for these private matters.

Gérard had grown sufficiently familiar with the habits of the household to know the hours when the family descended from the living rooms above to the large salon for their meals. On that Tuesday, July 10th, he waited at the foot of the stairs as they came down to dinner between twelve and one o'clock. As the prince passed, he asked him for his passport. Louise Coligny was close to her husband and noticed that the suppliant's voice trembled in making his request. She observed this to her husband, remarking that the man was a wretched-looking person and asked who he was. The prince answered her that he was a man who wished to carry a dispatch, and then they passed on to the dining hall. Gérard took this time to go out and get his pistols. One he

[1] Brunynck to Count John, July 27th.—Groen, *Archives*, viii., 457.

loaded with two, the other with three, balls. Some one noticed him a few minutes later, out by the stables. Then he returned and placed himself near the door of the dining-room, leaning against a pillar. The two pistols were stuck in his belt on the left side. His mantle hung down so as to hide them.

The prince had invited to dinner Rombert Uylenburgh,[1] who had been sent to him by the Friesland cities to discuss various matters with him. This was the only stranger present at the family meal that day. The Princess of Orange, the Countess Schwarzburg, sister to the prince, and three of the prince's daughters made up the whole party.[2] During the repast the conversation turned entirely upon Friesland. As they rose from the table about an hour after noon, Colonel Morgan, an Englishman, and several other people came in. Orange called Uylenburgh to his side to say something further to him, exchanged several words with Colonel Morgan, and then left the room. Scarcely was he out of the door when Gérard pressed forward, reminding him of his request. At the same minute he fired the pistol which he had loaded with three balls, full against the prince's breast.[3]

Orange realised instantly that his end had come. He exclaimed: "My God, have pity on my soul (I am sorely wounded). My God, have pity on my soul

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[1] These details are taken from a letter from this Uylenburgh to the magistrate of Leeuwarden. It is dated July 10th.—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., cviii.

[2] Maurice was at Leyden.

[3] One ball passed through the prince's chest and struck the wall, where its marks are still shown.

THE ASSASSINATION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, JULY 10, 1584.
(From an old print.)

and this poor people."[1] His equerry, Jacques de Malderen, caught his stricken master in his arms as he was about to fall and helped him to the steps of the staircase. The prince's sister asked him in German if he trusted his soul to Jesus Christ, and he answered "Yes" in the same language. That was his last word. A few instants later he was carried to a couch in the dining hall and there breathed out his life.

The murderer was less fortunate than Jaureguy, inasmuch as he had no one to say a word in his favour. Willing as he was to lose his life if his victim were but slain, he had omitted no precaution by which he might hope to effect his escape. He knew every detail of the locality perfectly. He had with him two bladders and a little tube to blow them up, which he expected to use in swimming the moats behind the convent. Just outside the town was a horse waiting for him, all saddled.[2] As soon as he had shot, he fled towards the canal moat, leaping

[1] Lettenhove thinks these dying words are of doubtful authenticity, but few historical facts are as well substantiated. In the letters of the states-general to Ghent and to Queen Elizabeth the words are given, "Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de mon âme! Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de ce pauvre peuple!" In the *Rés. de Holl.*, 1584, 412, the phrase stands, "Mon Dieu, mon Dieu, ayez pitié de moy et de ton pauvre peuple." The phrase, "Je suis fort blessé" is given only in the *Relation officielle.* Cornelius Aerssens, writing to Brussels on July 11th, says: "Son Excellence est trespassé et fini en Dieu, n'aiant parlé autre chose que ces mots bien hauts—'Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de mon âme; et après, 'Ayez pitié de ce pauvre peuple,' demeurans les deux derniers mots quasi en sa bouche."—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 177.

[2] *Glorieux et triomphant martyre de Balthazar Gérard.—Ibid.*, 150.

down the four steps from the entrance to the court at a single jump, and losing his second pistol in his haste. He passed through the stables and had gained the little lane, now the Rue d'École, which led to the wall, when he tripped and fell. He succeeded, nevertheless, in reaching the top of the rampart and was about to spring into the moat when a lackey and halberdier seized him. One of the men said, "You scamp!" "I am no scamp," he replied; "I have only fulfilled the king's commands."—"What king?"—"The King of Spain, my master." They took him back to the Prinsenhof. As they entered, he cried, "Ah! door, door, thou hast deceived me, I see I am a dead man." He was taken into the janitor's room, then he demanded paper and ink and wrote out his confession.[1]

The murderer's presence of mind was wonderful. In this document he told the whole truth as concerned himself, but gave no hint of the authorisation which he had received from Parma, nor did he even mention that the Jesuit at Treves or the Greyfriar at Tournay had approved his purpose. He did not show the slightest repentance, but declared that were he a thousand leagues from Delft he would return to kill the arch-heretic who had been a pest to the land.[2] During four days of torture when every effort was used to make him confess more, he maintained this wonderful constancy, worthy of a better cause. The facts as already related were elicited. He finally acknowledged that Parma knew of his intention, but

[1] Given in appendix.

[2] *De Confessie en Verhooren*, July 10, 11, 12, 13.

he did not incriminate anyone, and persisted to the end, that his deed, though he was ignorant of his victim's death, had been a righteous act. Hoofd says that when his sentence was announced to him on July 13th, he quailed a little, then plucking up his courage anew he said he would take the journey to heaven to pray God to be merciful to humanity, and he refused to hearken to any preachers.[1]

On Saturday, July 14th, Balthazar Gérard was executed with all the horrors that the ingenuity of man could invent. The merciful strangulation which Orange had begged for Jaureguy's accomplices, would have been a blessed relief to this poor wretch, but he saw himself die piecemeal, with every ghastly torment, and did not utter a groan. Never once did he say "*Ay my*," writes Aerssen, who bears testimony to the remarkable power of his endurance. After his right hand had been burnt off, filling the market place with smoke and ill odour, he made a cross with the maimed stump of his arm. His executioners thought that witchcraft alone could have enabled the condemned man to have such Spartan endurance, while the Catholics held that only the blessedness of his deed could have fitted the sufferer to bear his martyrdom as befitted a saint.

Granvelle expressed his profound pleasure at the final success of the just ban against the prince.

[1] "The body was quartered and placed at the city gates. His head, after it had long stood upon a stake, finally fell off, so people say, and was carried to Brabant. Many may consider these details trivial, but I thought them worthy of mention so that every one might see for himself the assurance of the miscreant," says Hoofd (xx., 839).

"Alençon [he wrote] died on the tenth of June, Orange, the tenth of July, it would be little loss if the queen-mother were to die on the tenth of August." [1] "Alençon and Orange are in the right place, and the martyrdom suffered by our good Burgundian in executing so heroic an act ought to be fitly recompensed." [2]

In the Spanish camps the feeling of rejoicing was not unanimous. The priesthood, giving utterance to their gall against Orange, extolled the villain's deed to the skies. But in various cities when they proposed to show their joy with bonfires, the communities prevented it. The canons, hindered at Bois-le-Duc from celebrating a public feast, gathered in the Cathedral and sang *Te Deum Laudamus.* This seemed to displease the very heavens, for, the evening afterwards, the tower was struck by lightning, though no other house in the city was injured.[3]

Parma informed Philip of the event, congratulating him that so pernicious a man, one who had caused so much ill to Christianity, to the service of God, and to the king, had received the punishment worthy of his crimes. He further expressed his intention of finding the relations of the sainted assassin, that they might receive the reward merited by the valiant deed. Some of Gérard's brothers hastened at once to the Netherlands to ask for the 25,000 crowns [4] which were their legal due. Parma wrote Philip five rea-

[1] Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., cxxvi. To the Prior of Bellefontaine.
[2] To Don Juan de Idiaquez.
[3] Hoofd, xx., 842; Meteren, iv., 148.
[4] Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., cxxvii.

sons why their claim should be honoured,[1] but the royal treasury in the Netherlands was low. He, therefore, proposed to give the Gérard family an equivalent in some of Orange's confiscated estates in Burgundy. Finally, the three seigniories of Lievremont, Hostal, and Dammartin in the Franche-Comté were transferred to the family.[2] The letters conferring the patent of nobility on the four surviving brothers and three sisters of Balthazar Gérard and their legitimate posterity, bear the date of March 4, 1589.[3] The recipients were declared free from certain taxes.[4]

A deep cloud of depression settled over Holland, but there was little confusion, even in Delft, on the announcement of the prince's death. The fear of wide-spread treachery, felt in March, 1582, when the French allies were suspected of complicity in Jaureguy's attempt, was not entertained here. Gérard's confession was clear. The formal announcement was made immediately to the states-general, then in session. They assumed authority and sent letters to England, France, Germany, and to the cities, and, later, expressed formal condolence with the Princess of Orange and Maurice. The prince's body lay in state until August 3d. During this time it was

[1] Feb. 26, 1586.—Gachard, *Cor.*, vi., 220.

[2] See Letters-patent, July 20, 1590; *ibid.*, 234.

[3] *Ibid.*, 223.

[4] When Philip William, Count of Buren, returned to the Netherlands in 1595, these estates were returned to him, and the Gérards received a money indemnity. Voltaire says that the patent of nobility was withdrawn from the family when Franche-Comté reverted to France.—*Ibid.*, cxxxiii.

suggested that a portrait be taken, but the states forbade that, "lest the enemy, getting such picture in their hands, might ridicule it." They did not wish the dead hero to be remembered as he lay there in his last repose. One Christian Janszoon van Bieselingen managed to disregard this prohibition and to make a little sketch, and all that saw it praised the likeness.[1] A representation of the head of the dead prince hangs in the Prinsenhof now, but whether it is the original sketch made by van Bieselingen does not seem decided.

It was a mourning city during those weeks, and on August 3d, a long procession escorted the body to its final resting-place in the great church, then the New Church, in Delft. The burghers came first, carrying drooping flags, reversed arms, and silent trumpets. There were eight horses, covered with black cloths, whereon were embroidered the arms of Breda, Flushing, Chalons, Diest, Vianden, Catzenellenbogen, Nassau, and Orange. The coffin was carried by twelve noblemen and distinguished gentlemen. Maurice walked as chief mourner, wearing a long black cloak, the train of which was supported by his tutor.[2] After other members of the family came the states-general, the council of state, the captains, and others of the upper council of Holland, other gentlemen in the government, and all the officers of Delft, captains, etc.

[1] G. V. Moes in *Oud Holland*, 1889, p. 281.

[2] Hoofd explains that Maurice was styled "Count," after the High German fashion, where each son may wear his father's title, while as Orange lay in France, where the custom is different, the title of prince was reserved for Philip William, the eldest son.

Thus they escorted the body to the New Church and laid it in the earth. Then a short and consoling sermon was delivered on the text from Revelation (xiv., 13), "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." No one present was dry-eyed, and even the little children cried in the street. The man who had been misjudged, criticised, ill-supported by those for whose cause he was working, was gone, and the people mourned for themselves in mourning for him.

Thus was the active career of the Prince of Orange cut off at the age of fifty-one years, two months, and fifteen days. Untainted by disease, sound in constitution, the sands of his life would have run on for many years in the ordinary course of events. In person William of Nassau was of about average height; his spare figure was well built. His head was large but well proportioned, his face rather thin, his nose long, with wide nostrils, his complexion dark, his eyes brown with a pleasant expression. He wore his auburn beard slightly pointed. As a young man his hair, of the same colour as his beard, was thick and luxuriant. In later life this grew thin, and he is represented in his later portraits[1] with a little cap. When but forty-four, he described himself as a bald Calvinist with a play of words, *calbo y calbanista*,[2] that cannot be rendered in English.

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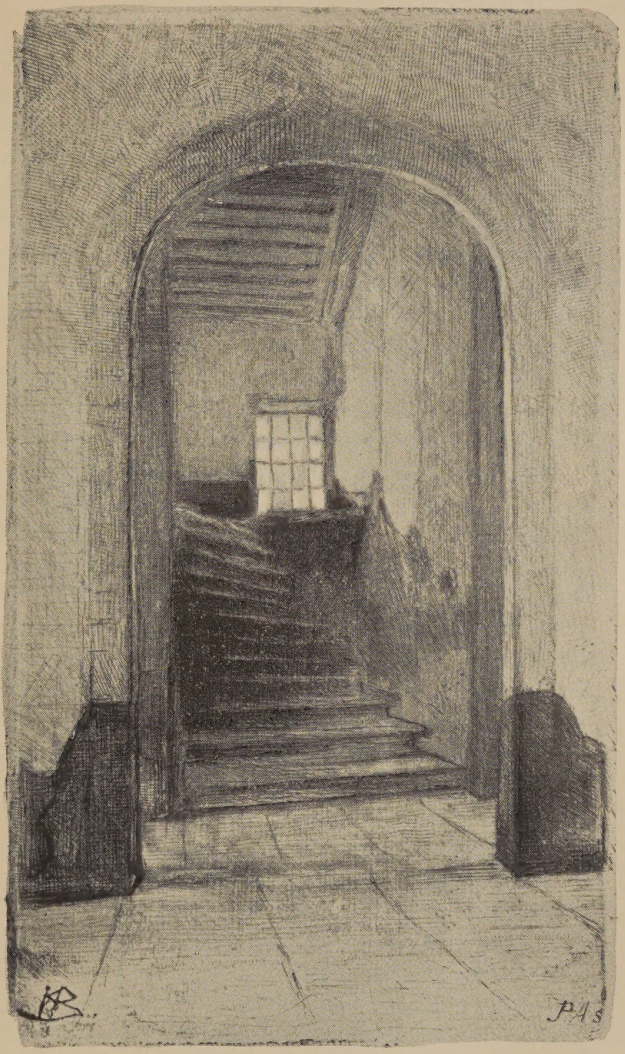
[1] See *Oud Holland*, 1889, p. 281 *et seq.* See also account of his portraits in Appendix.

[2] The phrase is given in a Spanish letter.

EPILOGUE.

THE descriptions given of the personality of the Prince of Orange tally fairly well. Not so, the judgments regarding his character. Almost no individual of note in history has been so variously painted. He was hated by his opponents, over-eulogised or over-slandered by the early historians, little understood by his warmest adherents. To my mind, he builded better than he knew, and the real worth of his character developed slowly. Perhaps it is good for man to have a careless, irresponsible youth. In one sense he never had that. The over-prudence of his young days gave a lack of spontaneity, a calculating element to his character, unattractive in a man on the threshold of life. He thought before he acted, and in action he was swayed by far-reaching motives; policy was the mainspring of his every deed. Through this policy he grew to honesty.

Taken all in all, Orange was a finer man in his later years than he gave promise of being, when he was the petted child of fortune in the court of Charles V., when Fate smiled kindly on him, and his path looked easy. Then he was worldly and ambitious,



THE STAIRCASE IN THE PRINZENHOF.
(From an etching in *De Moord van 1584.*)

willing to trim his bark according to the winds that blew from the south-west, from the court, whence preferment for himself and his family was to be expected. For it was not personal ambition alone that moved him. The Nassaus were clannish, and a family affection of the warmest nature reigned among them, as is shown by every existing scrap of letters between mother and sons, brother and brother.

Theological opinions did not trouble the prince at an early age. He was content to conform to the practice of the court circle in which he moved. The observance of religious rites sat lightly upon him. In his marriage with Anne of Saxony, the trimming nature of his character was certainly shown. He steered well between the shoals of ultra-Romanism on the one side, and rampant Protestantism on the other, but he carried his point, was not censured by the most Catholic king, and was not refused recognition by Anne's Lutheran grandfather. He did the best that could be done under the circumstances, and showed all the independence that lay in his power, but it must be confessed that at that date an heroic quality is not patent in the young prince. He lacked warmth, and did not manifest that vital spark that is potent to move universal sympathy.

Whether, on receiving the memorable confidence of Henry II. in the forest of Vincennes, the prince did then and there resolve to devote himself to checking religious persecution, may be questioned. But, undoubtedly, in the year of 1559, there began to grow in the Netherlands a resentment against foreign domination, whether over consciences or property.

The attitude of Orange towards his sovereign changed from that held by the young officer, who, at the behest of his liege lord, had stood patiently in the mud building the king's forts of Philippeville and Charlemont, in the very face of the enemy. The responsibility that was upon him as member of the government began to tell.

The prince had not then the real spirit of tolerance that characterised him in later life, but he had a general dislike to seeing worthy people ill-treated. When Granvelle waxed in arrogance, when the gulf between foreigners and natives widened, when the Inquisition loomed up as a bird of ill-omen and then actually settled down upon the peaceful, commercial, and industrial land, then he began to look about for means to drive it from its nest. It was not because he upheld the doctrines of the reformed faith, that he resented the attempt to suppress its freedom; it was because he began to see that the people had rights, and that a nation could not exist without power to breathe.

The years between 1563 and 1567 are very interesting as regards the development of the prince's character. Letters which passed between Count Louis and various people in Germany, show plainly how long the preparations for resistance to oppressive and tyrannical measures were on foot. Still, during that period, Orange went steadily on, doing his duty as stadtholder for the absent king, and acting as friend and adviser to the present regent. At that date there is a certain discrepancy, an inconsistency between his familiar words and his protestations of

fidelity to his monarch. Yet, too, he expressed his criticism of Philip freely and openly, both in the letters emanating jointly from him, Egmont, and Horn, and in his own epistles, in which he told Philip plainly that his methods would not work in a land swept by the free north wind, among a people whose commercial intercourse with all quarters of the globe had educated them to think for themselves.

He did not unfold all the alternatives that presented themselves to his mind, and, during those years, there are certain of his actions which are far from ideal, but while he was still holding Philip's seals he did certainly try his best to carry out that monarch's will, though refusing to go beyond a certain length in obedience. His withdrawal from the Netherlands was the turning-point in his career. He did not see the whole future—what man could? He moved slowly from point to point, and for a long time left open a way to reconciliation with his monarch, against whom he was fighting with might and main.

He cast aside allegiance to the Catholic Church long before he abjured the Catholic king. After that step his phraseology changed, but I would not call him a religious man in the sense that to him a religious faith was his stay and his guide, as it was to many humble people in the provinces, who cheerfully suffered persecution, both for the old Church and the new creeds—as it was to the mother of the Nassaus, the Countess Juliana. She felt that God directed all things, that His purpose ran through all,

and that every earthly event was for the best, though the eyes of man could not see the wherefore. Orange hoped that the higher powers were with him, but believed in the need of human vigilance.[1] A conviction of a deep-lying spiritual purpose in the regulation of the universe grew to be his very slowly. He believed in God, he believed in religion and in its outward profession, and he felt the inconsistency of insisting on uniformity of religious rites, but that was not his first thought.

Still less was he theological in that theological age. The story is told by Hoofd that, before he left the Netherlands in 1567, he urged Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists to come to an agreement of faith to which they could all hold. "Het geschil is te kleen, om, dieshalven, gesplijt te blijven."[2] "Do not let these petty differences part you," he said. To him the differences *were* petty and non-essential; what he wished was, that each person should have what seemed the one thing needful.

In 1580, Utrecht was agitated by dissensions in the church. Hubert Dovehouse, minister of the Church of St. James, was accused of dangerous liberalism. It chanced that the prince was in the city over a Sunday, and greatly shocked one portion of the community by attending service at St. James. A deputation waited on him to ask if he meant to

[1] To use a homely phrase that became proverbial in the American Revolution, he tried "To trust in God and to keep his powder dry."

[2] Whether the prince ever used this exact phrase is, of course, doubtful, but I have taken it as a motto for his story as it expresses the keynote of his character.

show that he espoused the cause of Dovehouse. "Oh no," he replied; "I said I would go where there was the best preaching, and they carried my cushions thither. I knew nothing of the controversy. It was a very good sermon. Next time I will hear the other minister." [1]

He tried to protect the Catholic rites when the reform party was uppermost. He would not permit the persecution of the Anabaptists. Remember that this was a peculiar attitude of mind, one shared neither by his brothers, nor by St. Aldegonde, who were the closest to him.

On the other hand he was not irreligious. His flippant remark when he was wooing Anne, about Amadis de Gaule as the best reading for a young girl, was made in his early days. As he grew older his point of view changed. He could not have conceived a state without religion as an intrinsic part, but he wished to make it an individual, intrinsic part. From the expediency of his youth, he grew, gradually, to a high standard of honour. The manner in which he held himself in the diplomatic relations between the states and the various foreign countries was very different from that in which he steered between shoals in 1561.

Undoubtedly he connived at transactions that would be found wanting in any ethical balance. It was a Macchiavellian age, and many practices were considered legitimate statesmancraft, which, as Mr. Motley observes, would be condemned in theory by modern statesmen, though they are still used. The

[1] Brandt, i., xii., 371. See also Appendix.

school in which Orange was trained, the courts of Charles V., of his sister, and of his children, furnished him with many tools that he used against his antagonists to good purpose. From a modern standpoint it cannot be considered as legitimate to bribe another man's private servant to sell his master's secrets. That was done by the prince through a long course of years, and by its means he possessed himself of Philip's thoughts. Yet, I venture still to say that he had a high ethical standard. Compare him with his contemporaries—weigh his actions on the scales of those with whom he dealt—with Elizabeth, Philip, Matthias, John Casimir, with Catherine and her sons. There was no international law,—there was no abstract principle of ethical action. What he evolved belonged to himself,—was not the gift of the age in which he lived.

The ambition and luxury of his youth gave way before the absorbing impulse of one idea. Every penny he possessed, every object of value he owned, was cast into the common fund. The years of wandering and deprivation were great contrasts to the time when he gave fantastic banquets, when even the table-cloths were made of sugar.

The time came when he could remember which suit had been sent to the tailor's for repairs, when he, who had kept open house and dispensed lavish hospitality, could make the closest calculations as to how he could manage to afford a little gift, and what table utensil of value could be spared.

Later, to be sure, the states-general made him

various grants, but these sums did not, by any means, equal those he had spent. The amount owing to Count John alone in 1594, was 1,400,000 florins,[1] and it was many long years before his estate was free from encumbrance.

When a footing had been won for the patriots, the lack of personal ambition he then evinced was a positive injury to the public cause. Had he but believed in Netherland independence as strongly as he did in Netherland unity, had he but made himself the head of the government in name, as he was in fact, the patriot cause, the cause of civil government, constitutional rule, would have been established at an earlier date than was dreamed of. It is the recurring, oft repeated statement of his adversaries that he was moved only by ambition. Probably this accusation came frequently to his ear, and was one of the reasons why he did not put himself in his natural place, instead of seeking foreign protectors for the provinces. Whatever position he sought was always made temporary, or *ad interim*, and evidently, it was he that made such stipulations.

His disinterestedness through all the hard work of making the union, must be evident.

In private life he was loved and respected by his family, although there existed a more familiar affection between his daughters and the fatherly uncle with whom they had passed their young days. The names of the prince's twelve children[2] reflect the phases of his career. Philip William received the

[1] Bor, iii., 438.

[2] See genealogical table.

name of the man who was the rising sun in 1554, allied to that of his father. The Queen of Hungary, under whom Orange had fleshed his maiden sword, was honoured in the name of Marie. The Great Elector's daughter thought of herself and her father when Anna and Maurice were christened, and her husband did not oppose her wish. Upon Charlotte of Bourbon's eldest daughter, the name of her grandmother, Juliana, was deservedly bestowed. The second little one was godchild to Queen Elizabeth, who, it was hoped, would prove a fairy godmother in her gifts to the needy Netherlands. That hope proved as futile as that expressed in the name of Catherine Belgia, given to the next baby when the seventeen provinces held together. Flandrina, Brabantina, and Antwerpiana followed, the two rich provinces and the city being honoured in their baptism. The twelfth child was born when his father was under a cloud on account of his persistent adherence to the House of Valois. The opportunity was taken to show that it was French protection, not French religion, sought by the prince. The Protestant kings of Denmark and of Navarre were godfathers to the little boy, and gave him the names of Frederic Henry. The happiness of the prince's married life came to him from Charlotte of Bourbon. His alliance with her was the beginning of a new life. In choosing her he followed his inclination and not expediency, and he won a companionship that was dear to him for seven years.

What impresses one throughout his correspondence is not his independence, not his self-reliance, so much

as his longing for sympathy, his need of approval from his fellow-men—at least from those in whose judgment he had confidence from any point of view. While it was a cardinal principle with him that all people *might* be of use in some fashion, if their limitations were but properly considered and their weakness guarded, it was not that he did not see those weaknesses. His keenness of judgment is testified to by both friend and foe. While he was wonderfully quick to use what means he had, to adapt himself to the actual circumstances in which he was, instead of measuring his way by formulas adapted to a hypothetical situation, he showed remarkable tenacity in holding to his purpose through untoward circumstances; great capacity for still being calm when everything was against him. Rough adversity passed over his head, he was unmoved by grumbling and discontent from his inferiors, by envy and malice from his equals, by hatred and persecution from his superiors.

There is universal testimony that his manners were genial and charming, and won him many friends. Especially at table did he give himself the relaxation of agreeable conversation, and, tossing aside the burden of his cause for an hour, he would play freely with jests, so that it seemed as though he had no worries. "Some wiseacres," says Hoofd, "were annoyed by this, not suspecting that his merriment covered a deep anxiety." In later life, the hours over meals were his only relaxation; gaming, riding, hunting were no amusements for him. All his remaining hours were occupied with work

and care. How indefatigable was his industry has been shown. In that age of writing, there were few men of the time as untiring in that department of statecraft as William of Orange and Philip of Spain.

One of the most frequent slurs cast on the prince's character is that of cowardice. It comes so often to the fore that it seems possible that he was not as courageous in temperament as became a warrior. The more credit is due him for overcoming a natural tendency. Certainly, he did not shrink from dangers. In his early lieutenant days he built the forts under the enemy's eyes. In the campaigns of 1568 and 1572, he did not spare himself; he went into Leyden when the place was reeking with pestilence, and during the last years of his life he pursued his way undaunted by the assassins whom he knew might be hiding behind any arras. It is not recorded that he took any extra precautions for this danger, either by having a private guard constantly in attendance, or by wearing a coat of mail. His wife begged him not to sup out in Brussels; the assassin Gérard was astonished at finding himself in his presence when he was lying in bed—that wifely caution, that murderer's lost opportunity, do not look as though the prince had his own safety constantly in mind, as a coward would have done.

As to his military achievements, he baffled Alva, discouraged Requesens, and kept Parma at bay. Alva and Parma undoubtedly, far surpassed him in military knowledge, but he used his opportunities with great skill. The relief of Leyden was his idea,

—a most original scheme, which took the Spanish veteran by surprise. War was not the science that it became in the next century, after Gustavus Adolphus, and, probably, the prince's technical ability in military affairs was far below that of his contemporaries and opponents, and of his son Maurice. Then the greater credit is due him for the towns he won, and the ground he held.

His natural bias was certainly that of a statesman rather than that of a warrior. Military operations were deputed to others, but all the threads of the government were held in his hand. His personal influence was felt in every act. When he was present the ship of state sailed; when he was absent it ran upon the shoals of local jealousy, on the snags of provincial prejudices. No statesman ever had a clearer vision of individual rights and of national unity than had William of Nassau, and there are few essays on the principles of a confederated government as clear and vigorous as were the many expressions from the lips of the famous Silent One.

FRIESLAND RECOGNISES THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.
(FROM A MEDAL OF THE HOLLAND SOCIETY.)

HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU.

WILLIAM, COUNT OF NASSAU, CALLED LE TACITURNE, OR THE SILENT.

b. April 25th at Dillenburg, Pr. of Orange, 1544, assassinated at Delft, July 10, 1584.
m. 1. Anne of Egmont, dau. of Maximilian, Count of Buren, m. July 9, 1551, d. March 24, 1558,
2. Anne, dau. of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, m. Aug. 24, 1561, divorced, 1571, d. Dec. 18, 1577.
3. Charlotte of Bourbon, dau. of Louis, Duke of Montpensier, m. June 12, 1575, d. May 5, 1582.
4. Louise, dau. of Gaspar Coligny, Admiral of France, widow of Charles Teligny, m. April 12, 1583, d. Oct. 9, 1620.

(children of 1st marriage)
1. Philip William
b. 1554, d. 1618,
m. Eleanor, dau. of Prince of Condé
2. Marie
b. 1556,
m. Philip, Count of Hohenlohe,
d. 1616

(children of 2d marriage)
1. Anna
b. 1562,
m. Count William Louis of Nassau-Dillenburg,
d. 1588
2. Maurice
b. 1564, at Breda,
d. after a brief existence
3. Maurice
b. 1567, at Dillenburg,
d. 1625, at The Hague
4. Emilie
b. 1569,
m. Emanuel, Prince of Portugal,
d. 1629

(children of 3d marriage)
1. Louise Juliana,
b. 1576,
m. Frederic IV., Elector Palatine,
d. 1644
2. Elizabeth
b. 1577,
m. Henry, Duke of Bouillon,
Marshal of France,
d. 1642
[one son was Marshal Turenne]
3. Catherine Belgia
b. 1578,
m. Ludwig, Count of Hanau-Münzenberg,
d. 1648
4. Charlotte Flandrina
b. 1579,
Abbess of Poitiers,
d. 1640
5. Charlotte Brabantina
b. 1580,
m. Claudius, Duke of Trémouillie,
d. 1631
6. Emilie Antwerpiana
b. 1581,
m. Frederic Casimir, Count Palatine of Zweibrücken,
d. 1657

(child of 4th marriage)
1. Frederic Henry
b. 1584,
m. Amalie of Solms-Braunfels,
d. 1675

1. William II.
b. 1626,
m. Mary Stuart, dau. of Charles I., King of England,
d. 1650

William III.
b. 1650,
after 1688, King of England,
m. Mary Stuart, dau. of James, Duke of York, later James II. of England,
d. 1702.

2. Louise Henrietta
b. 1627,
m. Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg,
d. 1667
[From her descends the present royal family of Prussia]

3. Henrietta Emilie
b. 1628,
d. 1644

4. Isabella Charlotte
b. 1632,
d. 1642

5. Albertina Agnes
b. 1634,
m. William Frederic, Prince of Nassau-Dietz,
d. 1696
[From her descends the present royal family of Holland]

6. Henrietta Catherine
b. 1637,
m. John George II., Prince of Anhalt-Dessau,
d. 1708

7. Marie
b. 1642,
m. Louis Henry, Count Palatine of Zimmern,
d. 1688

APPENDIX B.

SONGS, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL.

Rhyme-making has always been a passion among the people of the Netherlands. The names of the writers perished, as have, doubtless, many thousands of their doggerel verses on passing events, which had no poetic soul to give them immortality. A goodly number are, however, preserved in collections,[1] and a few are given in translation to show the spirit of the people. Some are written in French, some in Flemish and Dutch, which differed little in writing, but much in speaking. There were many squibs about the bishoprics and Granvelle from 1560–65. In 1565 the *Geuzenlieder* or Beggars' Songs came into being, which were followed by a long succession of war songs.

RÉNÉ, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

BATTLE OF ST. DIZIER (1544).

Instead of a portrait a translation of a ballad[2] is given as a picture of the young prince who died in his twenty-

[1] See *Nederlandsche Geschiedzangen*, edited by J. van Vloten (Amsterdam, 1864), which contains specimens of verses from 863–1609. Also *Nederlandsch Liederboek*, published under the auspices of the Willems-Fonds.

[2] *Nederlandsche Geschiedzangen*, i., 243.

sixth year, and left the princedom to his little cousin William of Nassau.

C'est le prince d'Orange,
Trop matin s'est levé ;
Il appela son page :
Mon more est il bridé ?
Que maudit soit la guerre
Mon more est il bridé.—etc.

I.

'T was early one morn
Before the day dawn
When the Prince of Orange, cried he,
Hast thou bridled my horse?
A curse on the wars !
Hast thou bridled my horse? cried he.

II.

Hast thou bridled my horse?
I am off to the wars,
Hast thou bridled my horse? cried he.
Nay, nay, my dear Lord,
Art thou going abroad?
Pray whither? the page cried he.

III.

Nay, nay, my dear Lord,
Art thou going abroad?
Pray whither? the page cried he.
To France I must fare,
The King sent me there,
Curse on it ! the prince cried he.

IV.

To France I must fare,
The King sent me there ;

Yea, 't is by his orders, cried he.
A secret command,
Writ in his own hand,
A curse on the wars ! cried he.

V.

A secret command
Writ in his own hand,
'T is the King who hath sent it, cried he.
I went safe and sound,
But the foe did me wound
With three blows of a lance, cried he.

VI.

I went safe and sound,
But the foe did me wound,
With three blows of a lance, cried he.
An Englishman dealt them,
My poor body felt them,
Ay, felt them all three, cried he.

VII.

An Englishman dealt them,
My poor carcass felt them,
Ay, felt them all three, cried he.
I had one in the thigh,
My breast one came nigh—
An Englishman dealt them, cried he.

VIII.

I had one in the thigh,
My breast one came nigh,
And one pierced the side, cried he.
They said I should die,
Curse the war ! then quoth I,
They said I should die, cried he.

Tr. by M. W. G.

BISHOP SONNIUS (1562).

Among the new bishops who were inaugurated in 1562, was Dr. Francis Sonnius who became Bishop of Bois-le-Duc on November 16th. He made himself so odious that this audacious paraphrase was circulated among the common people.

O bisschop Sonnius, die ten Bosch zijt.
Uwe name is zeer benijt,
U rijck is van geender weerden
In hemelrijck noch op den eerden, etc.

Oh, Bishop Sonnius, who at The Bosch now art,
Cursed be thy name by every heart!
Thy kingdom is no good nor worth,
In heaven nor upon the earth;
Daily thou eatest our daily bread,
Our wives and children are not fed.
O God, who heaven doth maintain,
Rid us of these bishops and their train;
Let us fall in no disgrace,
And drive this rabble from the place!

A very usual form of the pasquinade was that of the Echo.

GEUZEN-ECHO (1566).

Soe men die Geulx bestrÿt
Sal men gewinnen iet?—Niet!
Wie sal d'over handt houden
Die pauws oft die Geulx? Die Geulx!—etc.

The French version runs:

Gagnerat-on faisant aux Gueux la guerre?
Gueres.
Qui aura le prix, le pape ou bien les Gueux?
Eulx., etc.

BEGGARS' ECHO.[1]

If they force against the Beggars use
Will they gain or will they lose? *Lose.*
Shall Beggars fall before the foe,
Shall we the Pope as conqueror know? *No.*
To win he gives himself great pain,
Shall papal pence be spent in vain? *Vain.*
Shall mass in every land be sung,
Or will its dirge be sadly rung? *Rung.*
Who backs the Pope and all his crew,
Can she[2] be at his bidding too? *Too.*
Will Red Calf[3] e'er regain his fame,
Or shall his rival have the game? *Game.*
Does he old Nero's crimes rehearse,
Can he perhaps do even worse? *Worse.*
To return will he endeavour,
Or is he gone for good and ever? *Ever.*
To aid the Beggars who will try?
Say, all ye folk, both low and high! *I.*

DE TIENDE PENNING[4] (1570).

Helpt nu u selfs, soo helpt u Godt
Uyt der tyrannen bandt en slot
Benaude Nederlanden!
Ghy draecht den bast al om u strot,
Rept flucks u vrome handen.—etc.[5]

THE TENTH PENNY (1570).

Now help thyself and God will aid!
Break tyrants' bonds, be not afraid

[1] *Nederlandsche Geschiedzangen.* J, van Vloten, 1864, i., p. 274.

[2] Margaret of Parma.

[3] Granvelle.

[4] The exaction of this tax roused the greatest indignation, and some anonymous patriots tried to urge the people to action with their words.

[5] *Nederlandsch Liederboek*, i., 8.

O wretched Nederland!
The noose about thy neck is laid,
Rend it with a mighty hand!

Oh, Nederland, thou art in straits,
Both death and life are at thy gates;
Serve Spanish tyrants if you will,
Or follow, folks and all your mates,
The Prince of Orange still!

Help him to be your guide and stay,
Or aid the wolf to gain his prey,
But quit your neutralising;
Abjure the tyrant's cruel sway
With all its tyrannising!

BEGGARS' SONG (1570).[1]

Slaet op den trommele, van dirredomdeyne
Slaet op den trommele, van dirredomdoes,
Slael op den trommele, van dirredomdeyne,
Vive le Geus, is nu de leus!—etc.

In English:

1

Come beat upon the drums, rub adub adub,
Come beat upon the drums, rub adub adie,
Come beat upon the drums, rub adub adub,
Long live the Beggars is now the cry!

2

The Spanish inquisition has God's malediction,
The Spanish inquisition of blood-suckers' fame!
The Spanish inquisition will find a meet conviction,
The Spanish inquisition has played out its game!

[1] *Nederlandsch Liederboek*, 1st deel. 23.

3

Pope and the papists at God's anger quaking,
Pope and the papists are at their wits' end!
Pope and the papists in their shoes are shaking,
Pope and the papists have lost all their friends!

4

Long live the Beggars! Christians, ye must cry.
Long live the Beggars! Pluck up courage then.
Long live the Beggars! if ye would not die.
Long live the Beggars! shout, ye Christian men!

WILHELMUSLIED (1572).

This is usually attributed to Philip Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde. A bar of music in its original form is given at heading of Chapter XIX.

1.

Wilhelmus van Nassouwe
ben ick van duitschen bloet;
den Vaderlant ghetrouwe
blijf ick tot in den doet.
Een prince van Oraengien
ben ick vrij onverveert,
den coninc van Hispaengien
heb ick altijt gheëert.

2.

In Godes vrees te leven
heb ick altijt betracht,
daerom ben ick verdreven,
om lant, om luit ghebracht;
maar God sal mij regheren
als een goet instrument,
dat ick sal wederkeren
in mijnen reghiment.

3.

Lijdt nu, mijn ondersaten,
die oprecht sijn van aert ;
God sal u niet verlaten.
al sijt ghij nu beswaert.
Die vroom begheert te leven,
bidt God nacht ende dach,
dat Hij mij cracht wil gheven,
dat ick u helpen mach.

4.

Lijf ende goed te samen
heb ick u niet gheschoont,
mijn broeders, hooch van namen
hebben 't u ooc vertoont.
Graaf Adolf is ghebleven
in Vrieslant in den slach,
sijn siel in eeuwich leven
verwacht den jongsten dach.

15.

Voor God wil ick belijden
en Sijner groter macht,
dat ick tot ghenen tijden
den coninc heb veracht,
dan dat ick God den Heere,
der hoochster majesteit
heb moeten obediëren
in der gherechticheit.

. . . . . .

I.

I am Count William of Nassau,
Of noble German line ;
And faithful to the Fatherland
Is this true heart of mine.
The Prince of Orange I became
(Which title I defend),
And ever to my liege of Spain
I was a loyal friend.

2.

To live at peace with all the world
  Was ever my desire,
But now my foes have banished me
  From home and household fire.
Yet God through me will work His will,
  Despite unrighteous men,
And bring me by His mighty hand
  Back to my rights again.

3

Take courage, my brave people all!
  God's grace protects ye still,
The Lord will never ye forsake,
  Though now ye suffer ill.
So pray the Lord both night and day,
  Beseech Him faithfully
That He will give me aid and power
  To set my people free.

4.

My life and all that is my own
  I to your cause confide;
My brothers, knightly gentlemen,
  Stand loyal at my side.
Count Adolf we left lying there
  In Friesland's woful fray,
His soul above in worlds unseen
  Waits for the Judgment Day.

15.

I claim (may God my witness be
  From His pure judgment-seat!)
That my terrestrial liege and king
  I honoured as was meet:
But Him who is the King of kings
  With sacred, sovereign sway,
I did, by truth and righteousness,
  Strive chiefly to obey.

Tr. by T. C. W.

THE GERMAN TROOPS (1579).

The soldiers of John Casimir were sadly disappointed in the money they expected to gain in the Netherland campaign. Bor [iii., 34] says he heard them sing the following lines when they were supping at Utrecht on their way home.

Hebdy niet in Brabant geweest, aen der Staten sijden?
Moet gy nu te voet gaen, moegt gy niet meer ryden?
'K hebber geweest, ik kommer niet meer
Sy hebben kein geld, sy hebben kein eer, het sijn verlochend lieden.

Oh, have ye been in Brabant to aid the states to fight,
Are ye sick of riding? ye walk in sorry plight!
Oh, yes, we have been over there and now we 've had enough;
There was no pastime to be had; the life was hard and rough!
They have no honour left, in gold are wholly lacking,
They welcomed us with joy and send us home a-packing!

ATTACKS UPON THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

In 1579 and 1580 there were many pamphlets and pasquinades published, which were directed, with more or less bitterness, against the Prince of Orange. The following is an extract from a poem preserved in the *Archives Nationales* at Paris, as quoted in *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, iv., 492:

Calomnier les bons, les meschans exalter,
Supprimer la justice, injustice exercer
Gens de religion et prestres exiller,—etc.

The lines rendered in English doggerel are as follows:

THE GOOD (?) PRINCE OF ORANGE.

The good calumniate, the wicked to exalt;
Injustice exercise, leave justice in default;
Drive out all holy folk, nuns as well as priests;
Profane the sacred church, use chalices at feasts;

Plant heresy deep down, crush faith for evermore;
Defy all God's decrees, oppose His holy law,—
Are these not valiant deeds of this most noble lord,
Whose aid the worthy patriots fervently implored?
Urging that all foreigners be expelled straightway,
He gathers French and English within his rebel pay!
He calls himself a patriot, and ruins all the land,
Excites the people to revolt against their legal lord,
Offers oaths and pledges, and violates his word!

. . . . . .

By such fine fruits as these, the impostor, prithee, note,
Their most worthy governor, by these *good* patriots' vote.

APPENDIX C.

ACTE DE CINQ MINISTRES DU ST. EVANGILE PAR LEQUEL ILS DÉCLARENT LE MARIAGE DU PRINCE D'ORANGE ÊTRE LÉGITIME.

Ayant très-illustre Sg^r^ Monsg^r^ le Prince d'Orenge appellé les ministres de la parole de Dieu qui sommes icy soubssignez, et nous ayant commandé de diligemment et soigneusement pezer les tesmoignages et dépositions receues et couchées par escrit par Michel Vinne, notaire publicq, y entrevenant l'autorité d'un bourgemaistre et eschevin, touchant l'adultère de Dame Anne de Saxe, ensemble s'il y a quelque autre chose tendante à cela, et de donner à son Exc. nostre jugement et advis si le dit Sg^r^ Prince est libre de la première femme, et si luy est licite de s'allier à une autre par mariage, nous avons estimé que nostre devoir estoit de rendre obéissance à son Exc., et ainsy luy en déclairer nostre advis briefement et clairement. Avons doncques leu et pezé les tésmoignages qu'ont rendu, touchant cest adultère,

nobles hommes, le S^r^ d'Allendorff, le S^r^ Floris de Nieunem, le S^r^ Philippe de Marnix Sg^r^ du Mont de S^t^ Aldegonde, et S^r^ Nicolas Bruninck sécretaire de son Exc., desquels tous les dépositions nous ont esté mises entre mains par le dit notaire. Ayans aussi pezé le bruit commun de cest adultère et quy continue desjà par l'espace de près de quatre ans entiers ; ayant aussi Monsg^r^ le Prince, passé plus de trois ans, averty de cest adultère, par le Conte de Hohenlo très-illustre Prince, le Duc de Saxe oncle de la dite Dame Anne et le plus prochain parent d'elle, semblablement très-illustre Prince le Landgrave aussi son oncle, par le Conte Jéhan de Nassau son frère, et n'y ayant esté faite aucune réplicque contradiction, ou complainte de tort et injure, ny par les dits Sg^rs^ Duc de Saxe et Landgrave, ny par elle, ny par quelque autre en son nom.

Finalement, ayans esté advertis les dits Duc de Saxe et Landgrave et autres parens d'elle, qu'on traitoit ce nouveau mariage entre le très-illustre Sg^r^ le Prince d'Orange et très-illustre Dame Madamoiselle de Bourbon ; ayant aussi esté publié en l'Eglise par trois divers dimanches à la façon accoustumée leur intention d'accomplir le mariage, et après ayans encore différé 7 jours avant l'exécuter, afin que personne ayant quelque chose a y opposer, ne se peut pleindre d'avoir esté prévenu et forclos par brièveté de tems, [ce] que néantmoins personne n'est comparu pour s'y aucunement opposer. Tout ce que dessus bien et meurement pezé, et singulièrement les dits dépositions, nous estimons qu'il y a assés de fondement pour nous résoudre qu'il ne faut aucunement douter que l'adultère n'ait esté par elle commis ; dont s'ensuit que Monsg^r^ le Prince soit libre, selon la droit divin et humain, pour s'allier à une autre par mariage, et que celle qu'il espousera sera, et devant

Dieu, et devant les hommes sa femme légitime. Faict au Briell, 11 de juing, 1575.

GASPAR VAN DER HEIDEN,
Ministre de la parole de Dieu a Middelbourg.
JAN TAFFIN,
Ministre de la parole de Dieu.
JACOBUS MICHAËL,
Ministre de l'église de Dordrecht.
THOMAS TYLIUS,
Ministre de Delft.
JAN MIGGRODUS,
Ministre de l'église de la Vere.

APPENDIX D.

SPECIMEN OF CIPHER USED BY THE PRINCE AND HIS BROTHERS.

MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW (1572.)

Or par là vous voyez, Monsr. mon frère, comment Dieu est favorable à nostre cause. Maintenant je vous prie considérer comment de l'autre costé la malignité des hommes tasche de renverser et anéantir ceste grande grâce de Dieu. Vous estes sans doubte assez adverty du malheureux et exécrable meurtre, commis le 17^{me} du mois passé à la ville de Paris, lequelle Roy publie ouvertement avoir esté faict par son commandement. Or (1) 24. 31. 48. 60. 15. 33. 34. 9. 42, 60. 45. 25. d. e. 35. 36. 3. 54. s. 61. 60. 15. 13. cela nous ait e'sté, n'est besoing de vous discourir, car vous l'entendez assez de vous mesmes, considérant que, quant aux moyens humains 35. 20, 31. 36. 42. 39. 40. 60. 39. 27. 48. 60. 15. 17. 15. 54. 45. 42. 27. 51. 52. 20. 2. estoit 11. 25. 12. 26. 60. 61. 9. 42.

54. 56. 57. 15. 12. 14. 15. 33. 3. 18. 50. 51. 3. 38. 39. 14. 9. 15. 16.

Vous pouvez assez comprendre 7. 25. 17. 13. 20. 9. 42. 36. 5. 6. 27. 15. 38. 39. 9. 15. 33. 3. a. 26. 27. 57. 50. 51. 15. 61. 9. 60. 33. 15. 14. 39. 42. 72. 3. 18. 19. 25. f. 3. 27. 51. 15. 43. 54. 54. veu que s'il ne fut entrevenu, selon toutes apparences humaines, nous estions desjà pour cest heure maîtres du Duc d'Alve, et eussions capitulé à nostre plaisir. Maintenant au contraire, sans l'horreur et estonnement qu'un fait si exécrable imprime en tous coeurs des gens de bien, encor est-il incroyable 31. 25. 17. 13. 33. 15. 12. 42. 36. m. 3. 21. 14. 15. 14. 25. [T.] 50. 51. 14. 15. 61. 9. 60. 33. 15. 36. 15. 39. 57. que 26. 27. 15. 39. 3. 69. 50. 51. 15. 9. 15. 14. 60. 61. 25. 20 car pour n'estre 26. 13. 17. 14. 25. 18. 27. 14. 15. 16. 54. 60. 51. 50. 33. 27. 39. 18. 3. 39. 57. 15. 50. 51. 27. 15, 14, que 31. 33. 3. 11. 12. 13. 36. 27. 51. 3. 33. 36. 3. 60. 42. 27. 57. 42. 51. 42. 36. 27. 54. et estoit 11. 13. 12. 15. 13. 54. 27. 3. 45. 51. 15. 54. 56. 57. 15. 14. assavoir, de 11. 25. 10. 12. 26. 27. 66. 3. 12. 42. 60. 72. 15. 14. 36. 27. 33. 6. 42. 39. 54. 55. 3. 51. 48. 60. 15. 6. 60. 54. 27. 15. 51. 54. 55. 26. je n'ay voulu me 9. 24. 3. 51. 21. 15. 14. 51. 12. 15. 6. 15. 3. 60. 9. 42. 60. 45. 12. 15. 39. 18. 3. 39. 57. 15. 51. 27. 15. 3. 33. 15. 36. 3. 39. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. qui mesmes n'est guères utile pour le présent.

APPENDIX E.

HUBERT LANGUET.

Languet's letters are so frequently quoted by historians that some account of him is in order. He was born in Burgundy in 1518, and showed an early aptitude for study, speaking Latin fluently at the age of nine. When

he had finished his studies he started on his travels and arrived in Germany when the Reformation was in progress. Here he saw by chance a volume of Melanchthon and was so delighted with it that he re-read it five times within a year. He then went on to Italy and took his doctor's degree at Padua in 1548. He continued his studies for a time in Bologna and then returned to Germany for the express purpose of seeing Melanchthon, for whom he had conceived a great admiration. During the succeeding years he continued his wandering, going as far north as the University of Upsala. In 1559, he accompanied young Adolph of Nassau to Italy. After their return, Languet visited Paris. In 1563, he entered the service of the Elector of Saxony, who sent him on a mission to Catherine de Medici and Charles IX. in 1566, and later, on many other missions. By chance Languet was in Paris during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

In 1577 he passed from the elector's service into that of John Casimir of the Palatine, whom he accompanied to the Netherlands. There he saw William the Silent, attached himself to him, and remained in his service until his death, on September 30, 1581. Languet was a favourite with all who knew him, as his conversation was very agreeable, though he "never embellished his statements beyond the strictest truth."

APPENDIX F.

HUBERT DOVEHOUSE.

The story of Hubert Dovehouse as given by Brandt, is interesting as showing one type of the reformers.[1] He was born at Rotterdam, October 27, 1531, and was

[1] *History of Reformation* (Eng. version), i., 346 *et seq.*

educated for the priesthood and had a parish in his native town. He asserted the right of priests to marry, made his housekeeper his wife, and declared that she was legally so, though he stayed within the Church. Finally his case came to the notice of the inquisitors and he was obliged to flee from Rotterdam. Whether he made public peace with the Church is not certain. Possibly the death of his wife in 1574 changed his position, but he was called to the Church of St. James in Utrecht. In 1578, however, he gave notice to the magistrates that his conscience obliged him "to preach and teach after the manner of the reformed, offering nevertheless to suffer the images to remain in his church and to wear his surplice in the pulpit till the government should otherwise decide, adding that God did not regard the vestments whether they be white or black, but the heart only." The magistrates were so uneasy at the religious disturbances in many cities, that they were willing to consent to this compromise as Dovehouse was very popular among the people. The Deans of the Chapters opposed the proposition, but after a struggle the magistrates carried the day, and Dovehouse was allowed to establish double service in St. James, so that "all should be comforted each after his manner." "When the matins were done in the choir at high mass and the priest sang, 'Ite missa est, Deo gratias,' the people that quietly waited for it below in the body of the church presently sang aloud after the way of the reformed: 'Lift up your hearts, open your ears,' etc. Then Hubert ascended the pulpit." He proceeded slowly in his reformation, above all, discouraging persecution. "He preached with zeal and fervour and with a moving eloquence, urging chiefly the exercise of charity, a good life, and internal virtues, without meddling with nice disputes or deep mysteries,

which, according to the judgment of all discreet doctors, might be safely omitted and could not be inquired into without the dangers of pernicious errors. For this, his impartiality, he was nicknamed by many a libertine or free thinker." Still he drew many about him, and in spite of heavy criticism from both sides he carried on his ministrations successfully until his death in 1581.

APPENDIX G.

THE PRINCIPALITY OF ORANGE.

The Prince of Orange had so little to do with the land to which he owed his title, that its history has only been hinted at in the story of his life. When he was appealed to in 1562 and in the following years, to settle the religious disturbances in the principality, he sent messengers thither, instructed to arrange affairs so that both Protestants and Catholics should be satisfied, or at least pacified, but the little province continued to suffer from internal dissensions and from ravages from French captains.

In 1567, the second religious war broke out in France. Charles IX. declared William of Nassau an outlaw and a rebel and confiscated the principality. Varick was governor of Orange at the time and tried to hold it for the prince, but was obliged to yield. Charles IX. appointed Seignior de la Molle governor, the council-general of the principality ratified this appointment on September 11, 1567, and took the oath of fidelity to the king, in the person of the governor. Varick left the city with five hundred Protestants and joined the Huguenot army. The majority of his band perished in the third war of religion, which was declared on August 25, 1568.

The Prince of Orange refused to see Varick when he came to him, saying that he had yielded his trust too easily. Shortly afterwards the poor ex-governor died of a broken heart. In the articles of capitulation accepted by the council-general of Orange, it was stipulated that the Protestants should be allowed free exercise of their rites, but Seignior de la Molle broke this compact and treated those of the reformed religion very harshly.

The third war of religion was terminated by the *Paix de la Charité*, on August 8, 1570. The Edict of Pacification of St. Germain followed on August 15th, in which Article 30th stipulated the restitution of the principality to William of Nassau. On December 14, 1570, the prince was declared reinstated in the king's name, the royal governor was dismissed, and Montméjean was appointed in his stead, by the king.

The government did not run smoothly, as there was constant friction between the Catholics and Protestants. On February 2, 1571, a massacre of the latter began, which lasted several days. At that time, Count Louis of Nassau was regent of the principality in behalf of his brother. To him the survivors appealed for protection, and he petitioned Charles IX. to allow the prince to appoint his own governor. Orange, Condé and Henry of Navarre added their entreaties that the restitution should be made complete, and finally the request was granted by the French king. Count Louis then appointed William de Barchon as governor.

After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, many Huguenots fled to the principality, which was not attacked. Charles IX. remonstrated at the fugitives being received there, but Barchon declared that he was responsible to the prince alone, and refused to banish the refugees. For a time Catholic rites were suspended in the town.

In November, war was again declared, but Barchon obeyed Louis's injunction to live at peace with his neighbours, and did not join the Huguenot army. Peace was concluded in July, 1573, and Louis took the opportunity to re-establish the University of Orange, which had been closed for ten years. All the ministers were included in the new faculty. Barchon did not make himself popular. A strong party was formed against him ; he lost his position, and other governors succeeded him. After the death of Count Louis in 1574, a stormy period ensued in the principality, but there was no further confiscation of the land during the prince's lifetime.

The new prince, Philip William, visited the principality, but did not treat the Protestants very kindly. Under the rule of Maurice, matters improved.

During the minority of William III., his aunts, granddaughters of William the Silent, quarrelled over the regency of Orange. Louis XIV. said that he could not permit the disorders that resulted from their strife, and confiscated the principality. During the year which he held it he demolished the chateau that rose on the hill above the theatre. In 1665 the place was restored to William III., was again confiscated in 1672, and again restored in 1678. When the Edict of Nantes was revoked, many Huguenots fled to Orange. Louis XIV. attacked the town and partially demolished the Protestant churches. The Treaty of Ryswick, September 2, 1697, restored the principality to its rightful prince, then William III. King of England. On his death in 1702, it lapsed to Frederic I. King of Prussia, as heir of Louise Henrietta, granddaughter to William the Silent, not without protest from other claimants. In 1713, a new adjustment of territory was made between Frederic and Louis. In return for other concessions,

the principality of Orange was ceded to the King of France and has since been an integral part of the French realm. Louis XIV. said that the place had become a pesthole of *Huguenotterie* and lost little time in rendering it less attractive to those of the Protestant faith. Three thousand Protestants left the town in a body, went to Geneva and later formed a little colony in Prussia.

In 1719, the Grand Temple became a Catholic church. On Christmas Day, 1890, the Catholic churches were thronged with the ten thousand inhabitants of the little town, from 6 A.M. until nearly noon, at the successive services, while seventy-eight men, women, and children gathered in the one little place set aside for Protestant worship in a side street.

APPENDIX H.

PORTRAITS OF WILLIAM THE SILENT.[1]

There are no portraits of the prince in his boyish days. The earliest representation shows him at about the age of twenty-five (see frontispiece, Vol. I.). The portrait hangs in the museum at Cassel. The prince is dressed in a richly gilded suit of armour. In his right hand he holds a commander's staff, while his left rests upon a helmet lying upon a table before him. "The short stiff hair is brownish and a small mustache with the suggestion of a beard adorns the earnest face, which is characterised by a slightly bitter expression about the mouth." The inscription reads: "William, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau Catzenellenbogen." The

[1] See article by E. W. Moes in *Oud Holland*, 1889.

choice of this last title out of the long list which the subject of the portrait was entitled to wear makes it probable that the original was executed shortly after the settlement of the Catzenellenbogen lawsuit, June 20, 1557. Professor Blok says: "Thus the prince looked when he, in the autumn of 1559, was a suitor for Anne's hand." Mr. Moes discusses whether the artist of this portrait was Franz Florins or William Key, a native of Breda. Whoever was the painter to whom Orange sat, it is possible that this particular picture, fine as it is, was the work of some dependant of the House of Hesse. On December 6, 1581, Landgrave William wrote to Count John,[1] reminding him that he had promised to loan him a portrait of his brother. "Pray have it packed and sent hither. We will have a copy made by our painter and return yours to you." Three years later the landgrave sends[2] to the count, "the portrait (*effigiem*) of your brother which we had copied in our great hall at Cassel."

Dillenburg was burned in the following century, so that the original here mentioned, whatever it was, was lost.

In the *Mauritshuis* at The Hague there is a portrait of William the Silent with the inscription "*Antoninus Morus pingebat A° 1561.*" This was bought recently (1889) at the sale of the Secrétan collection in Paris. The authenticity has been questioned because the prince does not wear the insignia of the Golden Fleece, but that is equally true of the youthful portrait. Mr. Moes points out that the custom in regard to this insignia was not rigid.

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[1] Groen *Archives*, vii., 546.

[2] *Ibid.*, viii., 384.

In the hall of the *Prinzenhof* at Delft there is a portrait showing the prince at about the age of thirty-two (1565). This was bought from Don José Maria d'Almeida in Lisbon in 1878. The inscription, "The Prince of Orange," is plain, but some possessor had a different opinion, as on the back of the panel is written in Spanish "Philip I. painted by Titian."

There are innumerable engravings and medals representing the prince as he appeared at different times during the years between 1565 and 1580, but the originals from which these are taken are not known. There is an unmistakable likeness in nearly all. The face grows older, the abundant hair disappears, and a little cap is usually painted on the head. In the museum at Antwerp is a good portrait of 1580, and another, very similar, in the *Mauritshuis*. In the first the prince wears a close-fitting garment with a rich border, a fluted ruff, and a black cap. In the second the cap is pushed back on the head and the tabard is heavily embroidered with gold.

Cornelis van Visscher, a painter of Gouda, not always in his right mind, is known to have painted the prince from life several times. The originals have disappeared, but two forms, one in civilian dress and one in armour, are well known from copies, later compositions, and engravings. Occasionally the engravers have put the well known black cap on the head of the figure in armor, which is highly incongruous.

The most celebrated of Visscher's copyists was Michael Jansz. Miereveld. A portrait attributed to him is in the *Mauritshuis* at The Hague. In the Amsterdam gallery is an excellent painting by him, after Visscher's portrait of the prince in civilian's dress. Here the artist evidently made a free composition from the original. Re-

plicas are to be found in Delft and at The Hague. An inscription in Greek, which appears on all three, aroused Bilderdijk's curiosity. In 1810 he wrote to H. W. Tydeman : " Have you seen the portrait of William I. in the Royal Museum? When you see it, look at the Greek words." Prof. C. G. Cobet of Leyden deciphered the inscription, which proved to be verse 332 of Euripides' *Medea*, " Jove, let it not escape thine eye, who is the cause of these misfortunes."

Copies of this portrait without the Greek are to be seen in Prince Frederic's palace at The Hague, in the museum at Leeuwarden, in the *Stadhuis* at Amersfoort, in the *Mauritshuis*, in the *Prinzenhof* at Delft, in the senate-chamber of Leyden University as well as in the Leyden library.

There is another portrait by Miereveld in the *Stadhuis* at Kampen from some other unknown original, where the prince is represented, full length, in a black mantle bordered with gold. In the inventory of Miereveld's effects in his studio there is one portrait of the prince.

There is some question whether a mark on the prince's face, evident in all the portraits engraved from Visscher's original, is the scar made by the wound received by Orange in 1582. Mr. Moes thinks not, and describes another painting as follows : " In the Alkmaar Museum is a portrait representing the prince in simple house dress with a cap on his head. The hair showing from under it is very grey, and deep wrinkles make the face older than in all the other portraits. The inscription is 'William of Nassau, Prince in the year 1583.' Between the tufts of the beard just under the zygomatic process of the upper jaw, upon the right cheek, there is a red spot which is undoubtedly the scar."

This was, in all probability, the last portrait made from

the living prince. Bieselingen's sketch when he lay dead in the *Prinzenhof* has already been mentioned.

As the few originals formed the basis for the numerous portraits scattered throughout the Netherlands, so, too, the descriptions of the prince's personal appearance are the sources for many word pictures of him.

Emmanuel van Meteren, who certainly knew the prince, writes: "He was a well-built man, taller than the average, with brown complexion and beard, spare rather than stout, moderately strong. What he was within, his works have shown." Hoofd and others have evidently copied this sentence. Everhard van Reyd, who also probably saw the prince, says: "He had medium height, brown complexion, pleasant eyes."

In Joseph de la Pise's work there is a more detailed description: "The figure is fine when the proportion is good between height and bulk. The prince was neither too tall nor too stout. He had a moderately large and round head; a face rather dark than fair, rather thin than full; auburn hair; a beard of the same colour and pointed; large, bright, prominent brownish eyes; a nose rather long than short, with wide nostrils; his expression was cold and unmoved, without passion or change." This man was born four years after the prince's death, so that this is not the description of a contemporary.

In 1884, a few days after the death of Alexander, the last Prince of Orange, an Englishman wrote from The Hague: "I went at once to the Palace and saw the Prince. The likeness to William the Silent is quite marvellous. Mr. H. was so struck with it that he would have wished to have a photograph taken even now. Those taken immediately after death are extremely good and like what we knew the Prince; but now the

face has a kind of fixed, stern, elderly look—exactly like our head of William the Silent."

> Well told the bard—the foremost of our age—
> How sometimes in a dead man's rigid face
> Some old ancestral type, unseen in life,
> Appears again, and through the lately dead
> The older dead look down.[1]

[1] W. E. H. Lecky, *Poems*, 1891, p. 91.

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INDEX.

A

Aa, north dyke at, ii., 83 *et seq.*
Aaronson, Peter, i., 335
Abjuration, oath of, ii., 326, 327 *et seq.*
Accord of Aug. 25, 1566, i., 221, 230, 238, 241
Adiaphorists, evangelical sect, ii., 129
Adolf, Coadjutor of Cologne, executor of Réné's will, i., 42
Adrian of Utrecht, i., 13
Aerschot, Duke of (Philip de Croy, Prince of Chimay) i., 63–70, 106, 188, 264, 279; ii., 121, 140, 150, 168, 190, 193, 198 *et seq.*, 204, 216, 222, 233 *et seq.*, 241, 250
—— Duchess of, i., 72, 73, ii., 250
—— town of, ii., 252
Aerssen, Cornelis, testifies to fortitude of Gérard, ii., 415
Affenstein, M. d', i., 340
Afflighem, abbey of, ii., 352
Agylaeus, ii., 178
Aix, town of, i., 198, *et passim*
Alain, Captain, ii., 23
Alava, Don Francis, Spanish ambassador to France, i., 235, 290; opinion of Orange, 324–326, 331
Albornoz, Juan de, secretary of Alva, ii., 47
Aldegonde, *see* Marnix
Alençon, Duke of, *see* Anjou
Alkmaar, siege of, ii., 38 *et seq.*, 51, 107
Alost, Spanish mutineers seize, ii., 137, 140, 151, 252
—— county of, given to Orange, ii., 352
Alte Minne, i., 7
Alva, Duke of (Ferdinando Alvarez de Toledo), i., 101, 102; proxy for Philip, 107; treaty with Henry, II., 108; letter to Philip, 155; coming dreaded, 264, 274; embarks at Carthagena, 277; arrival in Netherlands, 278 *et seq.*; arrests Egmont and Horn, 281 *et seq.*; establishes Council of Troubles, 285; plan of seizing, 294; preparations to repulse Louis, 297; army of, defeated at Heiliger Lee, 299; determines to punish rebels, 300; execution of Egmont and Horn, 301 *et seq.*; victory of Jemmingen, 308; military tactics of, 312 *et seq.*; indignation at French queen, 325; letter to Philip, 326; scheme of taxation, 335 *et*

seq., ii., 1 *et seq.*; proposes sentence against Orange, i., 345; caricature of, ii., 5; reception of Medina Coeli, 9 *et seq.*; indignation at supplies to rebels, 11 *et seq.*; indignation at massacre of St. Bartholomew, 19; treatment of Louis, 21 *et seq.*; treatment of captured towns, 25 *et seq.*; makes terms with mutineers, 37 *et seq.*; summons the estates, 48; his departure and later career, 50
Amours, M. d', Reformed minister, ii., 19
Amstel, the river, i., 238
Amsterdam, i., 238 *et seq.*, 241, 243, 293, ii., 6, 29, 31, 49 *et seq.*, 157, 203, 207, 249, 308, 326, 328
Anabaptists, i., 210, 244, 258, ii., 192, 244
Analecta Belgica (Viglii Epistolæ; Tassii opera), *see* Hoynck
Analectes Belgiques, *see* Gachard
Anastro, Gaspar d', story of, ii., 341 *et seq.*
Andelot, Monsieur d' (François de Chatillon) i., 164
Anjou, Duke of (François of Valois, Duke of Alençon until accession of Henry III.), ii. 36, 46, 128, 159, 188, 201, 238, 256, 260, 261, 269, 272, 302, 307 *et seq.*, 322, 330 *et seq*; arrives at Flushing, 334; made Duke of Brabant, 335; behaviour after Jaureguy's attempt, 341; protected by Orange, 345; other titles of, 352, 354; budget of, 355; attack on Antwerp, 356 *et seq.*; new accord with, 368; letter to Henry III., 368; letters to Orange, 368, 376, 377; at Château-Thierry, 381; letter denying illness, 382; death of, 382
—— Duke of (Henry of Valois, afterwards Henry III. of France), i., 329; elected King of Poland, ii., 41 *et seq.*; on his journey to Poland, 57, 60; becomes King of France, 75; 97, 128 *et seq.*, 324
Antiquités, de la Ville d'Orange, quoted, i., 17
Antwerp, i., 67, 77, 83, 93, 103, 127, 182, 191; sectarian disturbances in, 207 *et seq.*; outbreak in, 214 *et seq.*; renewed confusion in, 243 *et seq.*; Church rites restored in, 277; contributes money to Orange, 293; votes supplies to Requesens, ii., 72; in hands of the Spanish, 140; Spanish fury in, 150 *et seq.*; Spanish evacuate, 183, 199; entrusted to Treslong, 204; Orange returns to, 218 *et seq.*, 232; sermons in, 251; religious peace in, 274; disturbances (May, 1579), 284; Anjou in, 334 *et seq.*; mourning for Charlotte of Bourbon in, 350; French fury in, 359 *et seq.*; magistrates ask Orange's advice, 366; Orange married in, 369; votes income to Emilie Antwerpiana, 375; execution of Ordoño in, 396;
Apology of William of Orange, quoted, i., 40, 69, 71, 72 *et passim*; *see* Bibliography
Appingdam, i., 297
"Arabatensis, Dominus," (Granvelle), i., 32
Arausio, earliest form of Orange, i., 17
Archives, ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, *see* Groen Van Prinsterer
—— *de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or*, Brussels, MS., quoted, i., 83
—— *Nationales*, Lettres du Prince d'Orange, quoted, i., 168
—— Dresden, i., 95; Flushing, ii., 397; Geneva, i., 166; Hague, i., 143; Salamanca, i., 266

Ardennes, boar of, i., 316
—— forest of, 319
Aremberg, Count d' (Jean de Ligne), mention of, i., 69, 117, 198, 209, 220, 245, 269, 270, 297 *et seq.*; killed at Heiliger Lee, 299; ii., 64
Arles, Roman ruins at, i. 17
Armenteros, Th., secretary of Duchess of Parma, i., 169
Arnaud, E., *Histoire, d'Orange*, etc., quoted, i., 16
Arnoldi, Johann, quoted, *Geschichte*, i., xi., 5; *Historische Denkwürdigkeiten*, 21 *et passim*; *see* Bibliography
Arondaux, A., married Eve Eliver, i., 110
Arras, Bishop of, *see* Perrenot
—— See of, i., 126, 127
—— town of, i., 63
—— union of, ii., 273 *et seq.*
Artemis, Bishop of, i., 102
Artois, i., 62 *et passim*, ii., 138, 156; reaction in, 272 *et seq.*
Ascoli, Prince of, i. 91
Assonleville, Chr. d' (Baron de Bouchout), i., 231; ii., 121, 140, 403
Aubespine, Claude l', i., 102
Augsburg, confession of, i., 14 *et passim*, ii., 39, 373
—— diet of (1530), i., 27, 30
—— peace of, ii., 36
Aumont, M. d', ii., 96
Austria, Archduke Charles of, his mission to Spain, i., 327 *et seq.*
—— Archduke Ferdinand of, ii., 240
—— Archduke Matthias of, invited to Netherlands, ii., 229 *et seq.* 233; entry into Brussels, 240 *et seq.*; farcical situation of, 255 *et seq.*; visit to Holland, 302 *et seq.*; distress of, 324; resignation and departure of, 328
—— Archduke Maximilian of, ii., 230
—— Emperor Maximilian of, *see* under name
—— Don John of, i., 341; appointed governor of the Netherlands, ii., 148; birth and education of, 163 *et seq.*; plans to rescue Mary Stuart, 165; stops in Paris, 166; negotiations with states-general, 170 *et seq.*; efforts to win over Orange, 180 *et seq.*; triumphant entry into Brussels, 184; takes oath of office, 185; goes to Mechlin, 199; receives Queen of Navarre at Namur, 202; seizes Namur, 203 *et seq.*; at Luxemburg, 246; forces battle at Gembloux, 247; at Rijnemaants, 259; illness of, 263; death and character of, 264
Avesnes, ii., 22
Avignon, i., 17, 144
Avila, Sancho d', Spanish captain, i., 283, ii., 57, 61 *et seq.*, 68, 150 *et seq.*, 184
Azores, ii., 59

B

Baden, Margraves of, i. 275
Bailleul and Cornaille, Philip, Lord of, petitioner, i., 196
Bailleu, Mme. de, ii., 210
Bakhuizen, R. C., van der Brinck, *Het Huwelijk*, quoted, i., 122; *see* Bibliography
Bakkerzeel, seignior of (G. de Casembroot), Egmont's secretary, i., 282; arrest of, 284
Baldinus, Franciscus, i., 194
Bandes d'ordonnances, regular governmental troops, i., 113
Bapaume, i., 101
Basa, Francesco de, attempts life of Orange and Anjou, ii., 355, 396
Basdorp, ii., 207
Bastet, *Hist., d'Orange*, etc., quoted, i., 16; *see* Bibliography

Batenberg, William, Seignior de, ii., 37
Battles (defeats, etc.) Dalheim (Dalhem), i., 296, 301 ; Gembloux, ii., 247 *et seq.* ; Heiliger Lee, i., 299 ; Jarnac, i., 329 ; Mook Heath, ii., 56 *et seq.* ; Nancy, i., 10 ; St. Quentin, i., 88
Baux, Bertrand des, i., 18
—— Marie, marries Jean de Chalons, 18
Bavaria, Ernest of, succeeds Truchses as Archbishop of Cologne, ii., 374
—— Princess of, Egmont's wife, i., 302
Bayonne, Bishop of, i., 94
Beauvoir, Seignior of, *see* Lannoy
Beggars (*Gueux*), origin of term, i., 200 *et seq.* ; of the Sea, ii., 2 *et seq.* ; lawlessness of, 29 *et passim*
Beilstein, i., 363, 365
Bentivoglio, Guido, ii., 357 ; *see* Bibliography
Beosse, M. de la, ii., 159 *et seq.*
Berchem, i., 208
Berg, Count van den, i., 176 ; *see* de Berghes
Bergen, ii., 58 ; *see also* Mons
Bergen op Zoom, ii., 205
Berghen [de Berghes], Marquis of (Jean de Glymes), i., 117 ; governor of Hainault, 156 ; at Spa, 174 ; mission to Spain, 205 ; letter to, 269
Berghes, William, Count de, brother-in-law of Orange, four sons of, ii., 124 ; appointed stadtholder of Guelderland, 372 ; treachery of, 372 *et seq.*
Berlaymont, Baron of (Charles, Seignior de Floyon), i., 116, 146, 169, 188 ; calls confederates, Beggars, 198 ; 220, 231, 264, 278, 279 ; member of Blood Council, 285 ; 317, ii., 121, 140 ; four sons of, 202
Berlepsch, Volmar von, i., 348, ii., 377
Bernard, Hans, captain of independent band, i., 82
Besançon, i., 166
Bersele, Baron de (J. de Witthem), ii., 167
Berty, John Baptist, i., 108, 193 ; sent to Orange, 248, 264 *et seq.*
Betz, Dr. J., i., 353 *et seq.*
Beutterich, P., ii , 91 *et passim*
Bèze, Theodore de, ii., 66 *et seq.*
Bieselingen, Christian Janszoon van, ii., 418
Billy, Seignior de (Gaspar à Robles), i., 281, ii., 179
Biron, Marshal de, ii., 357, 408
Blamont, ii., 45–55
Blomberg, Barbara, mother of Don John of Austria, ii., 164
Blood Council, tribunal established by Alva, i., 285, *et passim*
Bloyere, Henry de, ii., 173
Bois, Ph. du, ii., 241, 243
Bois-le-Duc (Herzogenbosch), i., 84, 127, 253 ; ii., 219, 416
Boisot, Charles de, brother of Admiral, ii., 115
—— Louis, Admiral de, ii., 32, 57, 73, 82 *et seq.*, 92 ; death of, 130, 133
Bomberger, Antony van, i., 253
Bommel, Isle of, ii., 62 *et passim*, 93
Bommenede, ii., 116
Bonté, Hugo, ii., 75 *et seq.*
Bor, P. C., *Hist.*, etc., quoted, i., xi., 127 *et passim* ; *see* Bibliography
Bordeaux, Treaty of, ii., 326
Bordey, P., i., 167
Borgerhout, ii., 358
Bossu, Count de (Max de Hennin), i., 69, 70 ; appointed governor in place of Orange, 267, ii., 5 ; taken prisoner, 39 ; 179, 259
Botalli, Leonardo, Anjou's physician, ii., 346

Böttiger, K. W., *Taschenbuch*, quoted, i., 95, 347 *et passim ; see* Bibliography
Boucholt, Seignior de, i., 92
Bouillon, Duke of, ii., 60, 97
Bourbon, Cardinal, ii., 198
Bourbon-Montpensier, Charlotte of (daughter of Duke of Montpensier), ii., 90, 96 *et seq.*, 107 ; married to Prince of Orange, 108 ; 131, 170, 188, 215, 220 ; children of, 123, 131, 170, 188, 348 ; letters of, 131, 159, 224, 226, 227, 228, 313, 315 ; illness and death of, 348, *et seq.;* act declaring marriage legal, 444
—— François of, brother of Charlotte, ii., 141, 159
—— Louis, Duke of, *see* Montpensier
Bours, de, ii., 204
Bouvignes on the Meuse, i., 63, ii., 219
Boxtel, Seignior de (J. de Horn), ii., 13
Brabant, i., 58 *et passim*, ii., 7 *et passim*
Braccamonte, Spanish general, ii., 62
Brandenburg, Albert of, i., 52, ii., 54 ; electors of, i., 275 ; house of, i., 34 ; Margraves of, i., 29, 142, 275
Brandenburg-Anspach, George Frederic of, i., 53
Brandt, Gerard, *Hist.*, etc., quoted, i., xii., 170 *et passim ; see* Bibliography
Brantôme, i., 296, 330 *et seq. ; see* Bibliography
Brasser, Goodevaart, wife of Burgomaster of Delft, ii., 79
Braubach, i., 359
Breda, headquarters of Netherland Nassaus, i., 8 *et passim ;* peace conference meets at, ii., 92 *et seq. ;* restored to prince, 205 227 ; retaken by Farnese, 329
Brederode, Henry, Count of, i., 63, 67 ; letter of, 168 ; description of, 175; signs compromise, 182, 186 *et seq.*, 194 *et seq.*, 236, 243 *et seq.*, 251, 254 ; death of, 288 ; pranks of, 158, ii., 66
—— Lancelot de, i., 342
Bremen, i. 335, ii., 46, 104
Brentians, evangelical sect, ii., 129
Brill, town of, ii., 3 *et seq.*, 93, 107, 117
Brouwershaven, ii., 116
Brown, Thomas, to Lord Burleigh, *Rel. Politiques*, ii., 5
Bruges, i., 11, 83, 127, ii., 218 ; returns to Philip's sovereignty, 381
Brunswick, Duke of, i., 7
—— Duke Eric of, i., 39, 92, 111, 312
—— Henry of, i., 39, 224
—— House of, i., 34
Brunynck, Th., secretary of Prince of Orange, ii., 80 *et seq.*, 91, 129, 130
Brussels, arrival of prince at, i., 42 ; abdication of Charles V. at, 72, 82 *et passim ;* union of, ii., 178 *et seq. ;* Don John's entry into, 184 ; Orange's entry into, 220 *et seq. ;* government of (1578), 248
Bruxelles, Philibert de, i., 74
Buren, city of, ii., 93
—— Maximilian, Count of, i., 44, 67
—— Count of (Philip William of Nassau), birth of, i., 94 ; at Louvain, 161 ; meets Alva, 279 ; goes to Spain 287 *et seq.*, 346 ; at Spanish university, ii., 132, 155 *et passim ;* excluded from succession of Countship of Holland, 387 ; reference to, 417, 428
Burgon, J. W., *Life of Gresham*, quoted, i., 76, 103 *et passim ; see* Bibliography

Burgundius, Nicholaus, i., 194
Burgundy, i., 3; ii., 91 *et passim*
—— Charles the Bold of, i., 9
—— House of, i., 15
—— Mary of, i., 10
—— Philip of, i., 10, 83
Burleigh, Lord (William Cecil), ii., 5, 9, 172, 216
Buys, Paul, i., 333, ii., 11, 79, 90, 146

C

Cæsar, story of, i., 3; *De Bello Gallico* quoted, 5
Calais, regained by Duke of Guise (1558), i., 100
Calvin, John, i., 255, ii., 66
Calvinists, the, i., 210, 249, 255, 258, ii., 129
Cambray, Archbishop of, i., 157
—— treaty of (1538), i., 20, 101, 126, ii., 408
Capet, L. (Capel or Cappel), Calvinist minister, ii., 107
Capitaines, Grands, Etrangers, see Brantôme
Carlos, Don, son of Philip II., i., 105, 115, 292, 328, ii., 164
Carnet, pensionary, ii., 13
Caron, Noel, Lord of Schoonval, ii., 408
Casimir, Count John (Duke Palatine), son of Elector Frederic, i., 340, ii., 45, 55, 118, 253, 256; arrival in Netherlands, 259 *et seq.*; departs from, 272, 325; changes his plans, 374; song of troops, 443
Cassel, i., 361, ii., 381
Cateau-Cambresis, treaty of, i., 105
Catzenellenbogen estates, i., 12, 25; settlement of, 26, 46 *et passim*
Caulier, Captain, ii., 409
Cavares, i., 17
Cayas, Gabriel de, ii., 48
Cercamp, Abbey of, i., 101
Certain, George and Lambert, signatures in Nassau ciphers, ii., 10 *et seq.*
Chalons, Jean de, founder of House of Orange-Chalons, i., 18
Champagny, Seignior de (Frederic Perrenot), brother of Granvelle, ii., 150 *et seq.*, 179, 204, 216, 271
Charlemagne, i., 18
Charlemont, built by William of Orange, i., 71, 319. ii., 219
Charles V. (Duke of Burgundy, King of Spain, Emperor of Germany), Henry of Nassau, guardian of, i., 13, 14, 19, 20 *et passim*, 42 *et seq.*; arrives in Netherlands, 62 *et seq.*; siege of Metz, 64; last campaign, 66; abdication of, 72 *et seq.*; death and funeral services of, 103 *et seq.*; mentions of, ii., 44 *et passim*
Charles VIII. of France, i., 11
Charles IX. of France, i., 322, 329, 345, ii., 7, 15, 17, 32 *et seq.*, 41 *et seq.*, 48, 75
Charolais, ii., 196
Chassy, Seignior de, i., 287
Château-Thierry, ii., 219, 381, 408
Chatelet, town of, i., 90
Châtillon, *see* Coligny
—— Odet de Cardinal, brother of Coligny, i., 342
Chauny, town of, i., 90
Chesnil, i., 51
Chevreaux, Baron, Spanish general, ii., 64
Chimay, i., 60
Christiani, Andrew (Chrétien, Kersten, or Christmanus), secretary of Count John of Nassau, i., 5, ii., 322
Chronique, Grande, de Hollande et Zealande, Le Petit, quoted, ii., 396
Church of the Holy Spirit in Delft, ii., 394
Cleves, Duke of, i., 12, 149, 224
—— town of, 224, 269, 335

Clough, Richard, i., 103
Cobham, Lord, ii., 262
Coblenz, i., 3
Cocqueville, de, Huguenot leader, i., 295
Coevorden, ii., 315
Cognac, i., 345
Cognatus, Gilbertus, quoted, i., 98
Coligny, Gaspar de (Seignior de Châtillon) Admiral of France, i., 71, 88, 89, 313, 342, ii., 7, 14, 16 *et seq.*; mention of, 181
—— Louise of, daughter of Gaspar, married to Prince of Orange, 369; letter to Count John, 370; trying journey of, 375; notices Gérard, 411
Cologne, Archbishop of, i., 86, 126, ii., 60, 287, 373
—— Bishop of, 13, 46, 60
—— Nassau house in, i., 24, ii., 24; conference at, ii., 282, 286, 306, 316
Commentaries, *see* Rabutin
Compiègne, treaty made at, i., 19
Compromise, the, i., 182; text, —— 372
Condé, Prince of (Henry of Bourbon), ii., 128, 179
—— Prince of (Louis of Bourbon), i., 153, 164, 325; killed at battle of Jarnac, 329
Confession, of Augsburg, the, i., 14
—— of Nuremberg, i., 29
Constance, Council of, ii., 54
Consulta, secret committee, i., 117, 146
Correspondance de Granvelle, quoted, i., 109, *see* Bibliography
—— *de Guillaume de Taciturne*, etc., *see* Gachard
—— *de Marguerite d'Autriche*, *see* Reiffenberg
Cossé, Marshal de, i., 295, 322
Council, Broad, of Antwerp, ii., 72; executive, 297; of Trent, i., 169
Courèires, Baron, i., 117
Courteville, Joose de (Seignior de Palinchove), Alva's secretary, i., 316; *Relation*, etc., quoted in Gachard *Cor.*, iii., 319, ii., 212
Coutreau, Jean de (Seignior de Molembais, de Jauche and d'Assche), i., 282
Crèvecoeur, castle of, i., 63
Croy, William of, i., 13
Culemburg, Count of (Florent de Pallant), petitioners assemble at house of, i., 195; famous supper at house of, 199; palace demolished, 301
—— Madame, i., 71

D

Daesburg, territory of, i. 11
Dalheim, defeat at, i., 296, 301
Dam, *see* Appingdam
Dammartin, seigniory of, given to Gérard family, ii., 417
Damvilliers taken by French, i., 57
Dathenus, Pierre, ii., 69, 285
Davison, Wm., ii., 216, 223; a sommarye report, etc., quoted, 221
De Bello Belgico, *see* Strada
De Bello Gallico, i., 5, *see* Cæsar,
De la Pise, Joseph, *Tableau*, etc., quoted, i., 16; *see* Bibliography
Delaval (Dellavall), ii., 337
Delfsyle, i., 270
Delft, ii., 6, 33, 37 *et seq.*, 48, 68, 77, 79, 80, 85, 117, 123, 131, 157, 320, 324, 326; union of, 114, 124, 387; Gérard in, 394, 404
Delftshaven, ii., 79
Denkwürdigkeiten, by Arnoldi, quoted, i., 21, *see* Bibliography
Denmark, Christian, King of, married Isabella, sister of Charles V., i., 111

Denmark, Frederic, King of, i., 173, 274 ; sponsor for Frederic Henry of Nassau, ii., 378
De potestate Guilielmi I. Hollandiæ Gubernatoris, *see* Gordon
Derens (or d'Erens), letter of, ii., 343
De Thou, *Histoire*, etc., quoted, i., 66, 88, 90 ; *see* Bibliography
Deutz, ii., 24
Deux Ponts, Duke of, (Bipontius or Zweibrücken), i., 153, 320, 329 *et seq.*
Deventer, i., 127, ii., 219
Diest, ii., 16, 148, 231, 252, 371
Diet, of Augsburg (1530), i., 27 ; of Frankfort, 93, 147, ii., 104, 109, 377 ; of Ratisbon, 111 ; of Worms (1521), i., 26
Dietz, i., 32, 350, ii., 251
Dill, the, i., 272
Dillenburg, castle built, i., 6 ; privileges granted to, 7 *et seq.* ; church and school, 12 ; housekeeping in, 39 ; mentioned, 178, 227 ; prince's family at, 269 *et seq.*, 287, 292, 296, 310, 333, 340, 343, 347, 362, 363, ii., 2, 8, 14, 24, 32, 33, 56, 66, 68 ; members of household at, 82 ; mentions of, 92, 105, 119, 170, 314 ; plaque at, 112 *et seq.*
Dillenburg *Chronicle*, the, i., 28, 39, 42
Dinant, captured by French, i., 68
Dohna, Les Contes à Orange, quoted, i., 17
Dôle, ii., 400
Dolhain, Seignior de, Adrian de Berges, patriot admiral, i., 186, 342
Dollart, the, i., 297, 309
Don Carlos, son of Philip II., i., 105 ; death of, 292
Dordrecht, ii., 11, 13, 29, 39, 68, 92 *et seq.*, 102 *et seq.* ; marriage of Orange at, 107 *et seq.*, 117, 182, 225, 387
Dorle, camp at, i., 60
Dornberg, i., 355
Douay, i., 63, 117, 188, ii., 156
Dovehouse, Hubert, ii., 424, 448
Dresden, i., 95, 123, 139 *et seq.*, 365, ii., 96
Drumesius, Nicholaus, ii., 207
Duffel, i., 206
Duiveland, capture of ii., 115
Dumont, *Corps*, etc., quoted, i., 105 ; *see* Bibliography
Dunkerque, ii., 149, 368, 371
Dupré (Duprel), John, secretary of Mansfeld, ii., 401
Dusseldorf, i., 240

E

Eccloo, ii., 149, 397
Edict, perpetual, ii., 175, 179 ; ratified by Philip, 183, 190, 194
Edward VI. of England, i., 50
Egmont, Albert d', i., 342
—— Anne of, daughter of Maximilian, Count of Buren, married Prince of Orange, i., 44 ; letters to, 57 *et seq.* ; death of, 94, 122
—— Lamoral Count of (Prince of Gaure) i., 69 ; takes St. Quentin, 89 *et seq.* ; victory at Gravelines, 100 ; hostage, 106; dissatisfaction at Philip's measures, 114 *et seq.*, 146, 197 ; governments of, 117 ; designs fool's livery, 159 ; mission to Spain, 171 *et seq.* ; at Spa, 174 ; Culemburg banquet, 201 *et seq.* ; meets confederates at Duffel, 206 ; consulted by regent, 219 ; distrusts regent, 231 ; interviews with Orange, 234 *et seq.*, 264, 265 ; refuses to join alliance, 251; distrusted by regent, 254 ; meets Alva at Tirlemont, 278 *et seq.* ; arrest of, 281 *et seq.* ; trial and execution of, 301 *et seq.* ; character of, 306

Egmont, Philip, son of Lamoral, ii.,150; receives Matthias,231, 241, 247
—— Sabina, Countess of, wife of Lamoral, i., 72 ; appeals to Alva, 302 ; poverty of, 306
—— Walpurge of, first wife of Count William of Nassau, i., 37
Eheim, Dr. (Ehem), tutor of Maurice, ii., 99, 186
Eindhoven, gained by Parma, ii., 371
Eletto, the officer elected by mutinous soldiers, ii, 72, 136
Eliver, Eve, i., 110
Elizabeth, Queen of England, accession of, i., 103 ; aid of, solicited, 332, 345, ii., 19, 32, 128, 184, 187, 195, 215, 237, 262 ; banishes Beggars, 3, 5 ; treaty with Philip, 36 ; anger of, 257 ; letters to Orange, 279, 334, 364 ; exchanges rings with Anjou, 332 ; espouses his cause, 334 ; fickleness of 382
Embbe, L. von, ii., 59
Emden, i., 335, ii., 34, 46, 69, 104
Emmerich, ii., 24
Ems, the, i., 308 *et passim*
Emskercke, Barbara d', mother of Gérard, ii., 399 *et passim*
Ende, Colonel van, ii., 150, 204
Engel, Philip, secretary of Count John, ii., 370
Enghien, Duke of, i., 122
Enkhuizen, ii., 6, 29 *et passim*, 39, 93
Epessoon, Joriaan (George Aponius), preacher, i., 335
Epinoy, Princess d', married Baron Montigny, i., 181
Escovedo, Juan, Spaniard, ii., 197 ; death of, 263
Esse, Jan van den, i., 205 ; son of, *ibid.*
Etten, d', messenger of Orange, i., 225

F

Farnese, Alexander (Prince of Parma), i., 179 ; arrives in Netherlands, ii., 246 ; at battle of Gembloux, 247 ; appointed successor to Don John, 263 ; character and education, 265 *et seq.* ; attempts to win southern provinces, 279 ; treatment of Maestricht, 283 ; recovers Breda, 302 ; publishes ban, 318 ; efforts to rouse the cities, 347 ; ready to take advantage of French fury 370 ; negotiations with Anjou, 371, 402, 403 ; designs against Ghent, 410 ; congratulates Philip on death of Orange, 416
—— Ottavio, 2d husband of Margaret of Austria (Parma), i., 112
Ferdinand of Austria, Emperor of Germany, brother of Charles V., i., 77, 94
Feria, Count of, i., 91
Feugheran, G., Calvinist minister, ii., 107
Flacians, evangelical sect, ii., 129
Flanders, i., 11, 77, 117, 187, ii., 82, 146, 156 *et passim*
—— Philip II., Count of, i., 75, 77
Flushing, i., 115, 288 *et passim*, ii., 5, 9, 22 *et passim* ; seigniory of, 330
Fogaça, ii., 65
Fontainebleau, embassy to, i., 45 *et seq.*
Forest, de, Sergeant, ii., 409
Franche-Comté, ii., 177
Francis I. of France, i., 15, 45
Francis II. of France, i., 126
Frankfort, i., 11, 38 *et passim*, ii., 10 *et passim*
Fraxinus, French ambassador, i., 53
Fregose (Galeazzo, Fregoso, or Frugose), ii., 32 *et seq.*, 36, 42

French fury, ii., 359
Freudenberg, i., 351
Friedewald in Hesse, i., 53
Friesland, i., 77 *et passim;* expedition of Count Louis in, 267 *et seq.*, ii., 6, 12, 22 *et passim;* accepts union of Utrecht, 278
Frondsberg, Spanish captain, ii., 205 *et seq.*, 210
Froymont, Castellan of Namur, ii., 202

G

Gachard, Louis Prosper, *Analectes Belgiques* quoted, i. 73; *Correspondance*, etc., quoted, 55 *et passim; Notice*, etc., quoted, 285; *see* Bibliography
Gaill, Dr. Andrew, ii., 190
Gasty, M., a Burgundian, ii., 197
Gaure, Prince of, *see* Egmont
Gembloux, battle of, ii., 247 *et seq.*
Geneva i., 166, 350, ii., 67, 186
Genlis, Seignior de (Jean de Haugest) i., 319, 325, ii., 14, 18
Gérard, Balthazar, birth and childhood of, ii., 399 *et seq.;* resolution to kill Orange, 400; preparations for assassination, 401; appeals to Parma, 402 *et seq.;* reaches Delft, 404; letter to Orange, 404; story of, 406 *et seq.;* buys pistols, 409; shoots Orange, 412; attempts to escape, 413; torture and death of, 414 *et seq.;* family rewarded, 417
—— Jean, father of Balthazar, ii., 399
Gerrit, Senator, ii., 26 *et seq.*
Gertruidenberg, ii., 39, 75; prince's house at, 103; conference at, 189 *et seq.;* 212 *et passim*
Geta, the, i., 319, 321
Get, Captain, French officer, plans to poison Orange, ii., 397
Ghent, birthplace of Margaret of Parma, i., 111, 113 *et passim*, in hands of the Spanish, ii., 140; pacification of, 142 *et seq.;* 191 *et passim*, 217, 222; citadel of, demolished, 206; troubles at, 233 *et passim;* enters union, 284
Ghéry, Jean, friar, ii., 404
Giessen, i., 360
Givet, i., 68, 69, 88
Glasgow, Bishop of, ii., 198
Glayon, Seignior de, member of council of state, i., 146
Glippers, royalist Netherlanders, ii., 77, 80
Glymes, Jean de, *see* de Berghes
Golden Fleece, Order of, i., 10, 28
Gomez, Ruy, i., 101
Gonzaga, Ottavio, friend of Don John, ii., 165 *et seq.*, 197
Gorcum, ii., 13 *et passim*
Gordon, Mr., *De potestate*, quoted, ii., 95
Gouda, i., 236; ii., 13 *et passim*
Granada, i., 341, ii., 50, 164
Granvelle, Cardinal (Bishop of Arras), *see* Perrenot
—— Jerome, brother of Cardinal, i., 43, 78
Grave, town of, i., 269, ii., 65
Gravelines, i., 100, 252, 278, ii., 396
Gregory, Pope, changes calendar, ii., 354
Gresham, Sir T., i., 76, 103, 226
Greville, Sir Fulke, ii., 200
Greyffencloe, George Albert von, fictitious name, i., 312
Grobbendonck, i., 222; *see* Schetz
Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, etc., quoted, i., 41, 53, 57 *et passim;* see Bibliography
Groningen, i., 77, 117, 127 *et passim*, ii., 61, 148 *et passim;* delay in entering union, 278
Guelderland (also Guelder), i., 63, 77, 117, ii., 6, 13, 29 *et passim;* election of John to

governorship of, 253 *et seq.*; John resigns governorship of, 314 *et seq.*, 372
Guests at wedding of Orange, i., 367
Guezen Lieder, ii., 437
Guienne, ii, 307
Guillaume d'Orange, *see* Jonckbloet
Guillaume le Taciturne, *see* Juste
Guion, François, name assumed by Gérard, ii., 405
Guise, Cardinal (Louis de Lorraine), ii., 198
—— Duke of, i., 100, ii., 166, 188
—— tree of, ii., 22
Guizot, *Hist. de France*, quoted, i., 52; *see* Bibliography

H

Hadamar, i., 136
Haemstede, Adolph de, Spanish vice-admiral, ii., 73
Haer, van der, quoted by Bakhuizen, i., 164
Hague, The, ii., 47, 84 *et passim*; oath of abjuration at, 326
Hainault, Count Philip of, i., 38; children of Philip, 38, 40,
—— Count Reinhard of, i., 38, 77, 117
—— states of, ii., 138, 146, 156, 160
Halberstadt, provostship of, i., 177
Haller, Secretary, i., 93
Halstat, Claus, ii., 305
Hamburg, foundation of commercial importance of, i., 210, 335, ii., 153
Hammes, Nicholas de, Protestant malcontent, i., 186
Han, i., 90
Handboek der Geschiednis van het Vaderland, quoted, ii., 11; *see* Groen van Prinsterer
Hanszoon, Hans, plots against Orange, ii., 396
Harlem, ii., 6, 27; siege of, 29 *et seq.*
—— Lake of, ii., 31, 32, 157, 209
Hasselaar, Kenauw Simon, ii., 31
Hauff, steward of Orange, i., 352
Haultain, seignior de (Alexander Zoëte), patriot admiral, ii., 205
Havré, Marquis of (Charles Philippe de Croy), ii., 150 *et seq.*, 173, 238, 241, 247, 250, 252 *et seq.*
Heidelberg, i., 354, ii., 45, 60, 92 *et passim*
Heiden, Gasper van der, Reformed minister, ii., 107
Heiliger Lee, i., 298, 299, 306, ii., 64
Heist, attempts assassination of Orange, ii., 27
Hènaris, university of Alcala de, in New Castile, ii., 132
Henne, Alexander, editor of Pontus Payen, i., 198
Henry II. (Valois), of France, i., 45, 50, 51, 66, 68, 85, 105; confides in Orange in forest of Vincennes, 108, 113; death of, 109
Henry III., *see* Anjou
Henry VII. (Tudor), of England, i., 11
Herlle, William, letter to Burleigh, ii., 337 *et seq.*
Herman, rioter, i., 258
Hermigny, ii., 20
Hesdin, i., 64, 66, 102
Hesse, Elizabeth of, marries John of Nassau, i., 12
—— House of, i., 7, 23 *et seq.*, lawsuit with Nassau, ii., 98
—— Louis of, i., 360
—— Landgrave of (Philip the Magnanimous, i., 31, 32, 45, 46, 62, 122, 124, 132; accepts marriage, 143; death of, 245, 274
—— William of, brother-in-law of John V. of Nassau, i., 24 *et seq.*
—— Landgrave of (William the

Wise), i., 53, 154, 166, 224, 275, 288, 292, 294, 314, 365, ii., 36, 42, 55, 60, 105 *et seq.*, 129, 232, 244, 257, 259, 270, 303, 364, 380 *et seq.*
Hesse-Cassel, i., 24
Hesse-Marburg, Anna, wife of Henry, i., 23
—— Elizabeth, daughter of Henry of, i., 23
—— Henry of, i., 23
Hessels, Councillor, ii., 234; death of, 271
Hèze, Seignior de (William of Horn), ii., 139, 150, 168, 173, 216, 247
Hierges, Seignior de (Gilles de Berlaymont), eldest son of Count of Berlaymont, ii., 64, 114, 190, 193
Hildesheim, provostship of, i., 177
Hocron, Anthony von, chamberlain of Réné of Orange, i., 20
Hohenlohe, Albert, Count of, brother-in-law of Prince of Orange, ii., 92, 102 *et seq.*, 110
—— Philip, Count of, ii., 131; appointed to help Orange, 133, 158, 320, 323
Holl, George von, captain of mercenaries, i., 81, 82 *et passim*
Holland, County of, Netherland Province, i., 77, 187, 191 *et passim*, ii., 5 *et seq.*, 11 *et seq.*, *et passim*; accepts union of Utrecht, 278; Countship of, ii., 352, 383 *et seq.*; circular letter of states of, 386
Hoofd, C. P., protests against making Orange Count of Holland, ii., 391
Hoofd, P. C., quoted, i., xii., 77, 88, 90 *et passim*; *see* Bibliography
Hoogstraaten, Count of (Anthony Lalain), i., 63, 189, 203, 237, 243, 248, 249, 251, 256, 260, 286, 288, 296, 301, 313, 319; death of, 323
Hopper, Joachim, *Mémoires*, quoted, i., 211, ii., 121, 122
Horn, Count of, (Philip Montmorency) i., 95, 116, 146, 190, 201, 203, 219 *et seq.*, 234, 243 *et seq.*, 268 *et seq.*; arrest of, 281; trial and execution of, 301 *et seq.*, mention of, ii., 181
Hort, Tieman van, i., 338
Hostal, seigniory of, given to Gérard family, ii., 417
Houfflin, I., ii., 321
Hoynck, van Papendrecht, Cornelius Paul, *Analecta Belgica*, quoted, ii., 122
Huguenots et les Gueux, *see* Letenhove
Huguerye, Michel de la, *Mémoires*, quoted, ii., 8 *et passim*; at Mons, 17 *et seq.*; at Dillenburg, 24, 33, 68; *see* Bibliography
Hungary, Queen of (Mary of Austria), i., 41; regent of Netherlands, 56; lays down office (1555), 73 *et seq.*, 110

I

Idiaquez, Juan de, ii., 396
Imbize, Jean d', ii., 233 *et seq.*, 286
Innsbruck, i., 56
Interim of 1548, i., 30, 31

J

Jassy house, origin of name, i., 282
Jaureguy, John, story of, ii., 337 *et seq.*; mention of, 395
Jesus with the Balsam Flower, *Guild*, ii., 237
Joanne, Adolphe, *Géographie de Vaucluse*, quoted, i., 17.
Jodoigne, i., 319
Johannisberg wine, i., 2

Jonckbloet, W. J. A., *Guillaume d'Orange*, i., 18
Jonge, J. C. de, ii., 178
Jouarre, Abbey of, ii., 96
Joyful Entry, i., 260
Juliana of Stolberg married Wm. the Elder, i., 38 ; *see* Nassau
Juliers, i., 296, 316
Junius, Francis, Reformed minister, i., 181, ii., 118
Juste, Théodore, *Hist.* etc., quoted, i., 215 ; *Guillaume*, etc., quoted, 286 ; *see* Bibliography
Justification, i., 289 *et seq.*

K

Kamberg, i., 355
Kampen, ii., 28 *et seq.*, 219
Keeneburg, Herr, ii., 107
Kerpen, village near Cologne, i., 354
Kipdorp gate, ii., 359
Kluit, accounts for Hoofd's opposition to Orange, ii., 392
Klunder, ii., 55
Koch, Gerhard, i., 350, 352
Königstein, Count Christopher of, i., 177
Koppelstock, Peter, a ferryman, ii., 3
Kronijk van het historische gezelschap te Utrecht, i., 70

L

Labbé, Dr., French agent at Vienna, ii., 229
La Fougère, ii., 362
Lahn, the river, i., 23 *et seq.*
Lalain, Anthony, *see* Hoogstraaten
—— Charles, Count of (Baron d'Escornaix, de Navrin, Sr. d' Ecaussines, Marpent, Montigny, etc.), i., 69, 101
—— Emanuel de (Sr. de Montigny), ii., 197
—— George, *see* Rennenberg
—— Philip, Count of ; Governor of Hainault, ii., 173, 179, 197, 201, 239, 247
Lammen, fort near Leyden, ii., 84 *et seq.*
Langenbach, Gerhard of, i., 39
Langensalza, i., 348
Languet, Hubert, letter of, i., 111 ; ii., 229, 240, 251, 290 ; said to have corrected the *Apology*, 318 ; account of, 447
Lannoy, Ferdinand, Captain, i., 81, 92
—— Philip de (Seignior de Beauvoir) i., 254, 256
Lantmetré, ii., 363
Lastaige, place near Amsterdam, i., 238
Lauenburg, Duke Franz of, ii., 123
Laurenberg, i., 3, 5, 6
Lautenberg, Elizabeth, Landgravine of, married Count John of Nassau, i., 272
League, holy, ii., 188
—— of Schmalkalden, i., 30 *et seq.*
Leagues, defensive, Society of Lions, Society with the Horns, i., 8
Lebarten, Counts, i., 3
Lecke, the, ii., 119
Leefdael, Monsieur, i., 186
Leeuwarden, diocese of, i., 127
Leicester, Earl of, i., 332, ii., 190, 207, 216, 336
Leipsic, wedding at, i., 138, 354, 358
Leoninus, Dr. Elbertus, ii., 91 *et seq.* ; 146, 156, 180, *et seq.*, 190, *et seq.*, 216, 231
Lepanto, battle of, ii., 165, 185
Lettenhove Kervyn de, *Documents*, etc., quoted, 344
Leyden, i., 335, ii., 6 ; siege of, 51, 61, 74 *et seq.*, 77 *et seq.* ; relief of, 84 *et seq.* ; University of, established, 86 *et seq.*, 92, 117, 303
Leyderdorp, ii., 85
Liebart, Barthelemy, ii., 267

Liege, i., 206, 320, ii., 202
—— Bishop of, ii., 60, 75, 148, 185
Lier, Joachim van, ii., 252
Lierre, ii., 183, 231
Liesfelt, M. de, ii., 167 *et seq.*
Lièvremont, seigniory of, given to Gérard family, ii., 417
Lille, i., 101 *et seq.*, 188, ii., 156
Limburg, i., 77, 316
Linden, Jean van der, Abbé of St. Gertrude in Louvain, ii., 179, 216, 329
Lingen, granted to Orange, ii.. 268, 349
Lippe, the, i., 312
Loci Theologici, i., 276; *see* Melanchthon
Lodron, Count, i., 288
Longueville, Duke de, Governor of Picardy, ii., 22
—— Jacqueline de, mother of Charlotte of Bourbon, ii., 96
Lorich, J., retainer of Nassaus, i., 160
Lorraine, Anne, daughter of Anthony, i., 61; married Réné of Orange, i., 21
—— Cardinal, i., 99, 102
—— Christina, Duchess of, i., 111, 123
—— Rénée, daughter of above, *ibid.*
Louvain, University of, i., 161, 287, ii., 158; 16, 133, 144, 148, 180, 252, 316
Lovestein, ii., 13
Lumbres (Seignior de Guislain de Fiennes), i., 343
Lumey (Seignior de), *see* de la Mark
Luther, Martin, i., 14
Lutherans, the, i., 210 *et passim*, ii., 129 *et passim*
Luxemburg, i., 50, 77, 100, 117, 278, ii., 166, 169, 179 *et passim*

M

Maaslandsluis, ii., 3, 39
Machiavelli, i., 285
Madrid, i., 172, 327, ii., 48
Maes, Councillor of Antwerp, i., 76
Maestricht, ii., 23, 61 *et seq.*; fall of, 149, 282; siege of, 279 *et seq.*
Malderen, Jacques de, equerry of Orange, ii., 413
Mansard Seignior de (G. de Maulde), ii., 177
Mansfeld, Agnes, ii., 373
—— Charles, Count of, son of Pierre, i., 182
—— Pierre Ernest, Count of, i., 117, 201, 220, 264, 283, ii., 121, 137, 140, 401
Marburg, i., 361
Marche-en-Famene, treaty signed, ii., 174 *et seq.*
Marienburg, captured by French, i., 68, 71, ii., 219
Mark, Margaret de la, wife of John. i., 8
—— Robert de la (Seignior de Lumey), i., 158, 316, ii., 2 *et seq.*, 10, 12, 32, 38, 40, 89, 118
Marne, the, i., 20
Marnix, Philip (Seignior de St. Aldegonde), i., 182, ii., 11, 14, 21, 30, 39, 47, 52 *et seq.*, 59, 75 *et seq.*, 92 97 *et seq.*, 101 *et seq.*, 107 *et seq.*, 118, 122, 146, 167, 169, 190, 203, 215, 226, 234, 244, 256, 324, 332
Martin, *Hist. de France*, quoted, i., 53; *see* Bibliography
Martini, bailiff of Antwerp, ii., 410
Mary of England, i., 67, 82, 87, 102; death of, 103
Mary with the Flower Garland, *Guild*, ii., 243
Mason, Sir John, English ambassador at Brussels, i., 76
Matthias, Archduke, *see* Austria
Maulsburgh, Otho of, i., 312
Maurier, Seigneur du (Aubéry), *Mémoires* quoted, i., 115, 350, ii., 96, 375

Mayence, Archbishop of, i, 86, ii., 60
Mayorists, evangelical sect, ii., 129
Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, son of Ferdinand I., i., 73
—— emperor of Germany, 327, ii., 11, 92 ; death of, 176
—— of Austria married Mary of Burgundy, i., 10
Mechlin, i., 77, 115, 127 *et passim*, ii., 16, 20, 21 *et passim*
Mecklenburg, Duke Albert of. i., 53
Medici, Alexander de, first husband of Margaret of Parma, i., 112
—— Catherine de, i., 275, 324, 329, ii., 41, 230, 323 ; letter about French Fury, 365
Medina-Cœli, Duke of, ii., 9 *et seq.*, 25, 49
Meetkerk, Dr. Ad., sent to Prince, ii., 176, 190 *et seq*, 242
Meghen, Count of (Charles de Brimeu), i., 69, 167, 198, 245, 297, 300
Meir, Place de, i., 255 *et seq.* ; ii., 72, 205
Meissen, i., 366
Meixnern, Dr. John, i., 294
Melanchthon, Philip, i., 292, 365; *Loci*, etc., 276
Melun, ii., 247
Mendoza, Menzia of, married Henry of Nassau, i., 15 ; *see* Nassaus, wives of
—— Spanish general, ii., 62
Meneburg, i., 140
Mepsdre, John de, i., 269
Meteren, van, Emanuel, quoted, i., xiii., 77, 88, 90 *et passim*, ii., 396 ; *see* Bibliography
Metz, i., 57, 62 *et passim*
Meuse, the, i., 63, 295, 316, 321, ii., 3, 13 *et passim*
Meyer, Charles, ii., 6
Mezeray, quoted, ii., 365
Mézières, siege of, i., 33
Michael, Jacob, Reformed minister, ii., 107
Middelburg, diocese of, i., 127 ; ii., 6, 51 ; siege of, 55 *et seq.* ; capitulation of, 58, 75 *et passim* ; reception of Anjou at, 334 ; states-general at, 374
Mierop, Cornelius van, ii., 81
Miggrode, Jan, Reformed minister, ii., 107
Milan, i., 50
Miltitz, Sophie von, i., 95, 140
Minorites, church of the, i., 241, 258
Molon, John, i., 352
Mondoucet, M. de, French ambassador, ii., 21, 207
Mondragon, C., Spanish general, ii., 26, 56, 58 *et seq.*, 62, 75, 92, 115, 158, 184
Mons, i., 60, 220, 289 ; capture of, ii., 7 *et seq.* ; siege of, 14 ; capitulation of, 20 *et seq.*, 33 ; Margaret of Valois at, 201
Montauban, i., 345
Montbéliard, i., 332
Montcontour, battle of, i., 331, 333
Montesdocca, Spanish captain, ii., 184
Montfaucon, Baron de, i., 342
Montigny, Baron de (Florent de Montmorency) i., 117 ; represents Phillip II. at Saxon wedding, 138 ; mission to Spain, 151 ; wedding of, 178 ; second mission to Spain, 205
Montmédy, i., 57
Montmorency, Anne, Constable, i., 88, 101, 164, ii., 198
Montpensier, Duke of, Louis (Bourbon), ii., 60, 96, 98 *et seq.*, 107 ; offers to take his grand-daughter, 351
Mook Heath, battle of, ii., 56 *et seq.*
Morgan, Thomas, to Lord Burleigh, *Rel. Politiques*, ii., 9
—— Colonel, ii., 412

Morillon, letters of, to Granvelle, i., 169, 305
Moselle, the, i., 3, 99, 326
Motley, John Lothrop, *Dutch Rep.*, quoted, i., 75, 76 *et passim*; *see* Bibliography
Moüy, M. de, i., 292
Mühlberg, defeat at, i., 31, 45
Muiden, ii., 6, 157

N

Naarden, ii., 6; capitulation of, 26 *et seq.*
Namur, i., 68, 77, 117, 127, ii., 189; Don John in, 202 *et seq.*, 233
Nancy, battle of, i., 10
Nassau, family, i., 1 *et seq.*, ii., 118; early Counts of, i., 6, 7, 8, 9; palace in Brussels, 11
—— Count Adolph of, i., 272, 297; killed at Heiliger Lee, 299
—— Catherine of (marries Count Schwarzburg), i., 129; ii., 312, 412, 413
—— Engelbert of, i., 8, 11
—— Engelbert II. of, i., 9 *et seq.*
—— Henry of, i., 13, 14, 33, 37
—— Henry of, youngest brother of Orange, i., 161, 176, 227, 272, 333, ii., 61; death of, ii,. 65; description of, 67 *et seq.*; referred to, ii., 97
—— House of, ii., 118
—— John IV. of, i., 9
—— John V. of, i., 9; married Elizabeth of Hesse, 12, 23
—— John, VI., second son of William the Elder, brother to Pr. of Orange, i., 140, 177, 223, 227, 240; receives prince's family at Dillenburg, 273; contributions, 293; care of Anne, 350, 361 *et seq.*; discouraged, ii., 33; tries to obtain aid, 35, 60, 65, 70, 73, 90; fears effect of prince's marriage, 103 *et seq.*; kindness to prince's children, 123; efforts to reconcile sects, 129; in Netherlands, 215, 220, 225, 253; part in union of Utrecht, 273, *et seq.*; his marriage, 314 *et seq.*; letters to William of Hesse, ii., 94, 106, 244, 269; letters to Pr. of Orange, ii., 112, 118, 123, 186, 288, 312, 377, 378; letters miscellaneous, ii., 91, 104, 275, 289, 294, 297, 303, 310, 311, 370
—— children of Count John of, ii., 124, 299, 337
—— —— Anna, ii., 187
—— —— Juliana of, ii., 303, 313
—— —— Philip of, ii., 251, 370
—— —— William Louis, ii., 73, 252, 315, 378
—— Juliana, mother of the Prince of Orange, i., 38 *et seq.*; anxiety about sons, 177; letter to Louis, 227; at Dillenburg, 272; letter to Louis, ii., 38; interest in public affairs, 161; her grandchildren, 187; her age, 254; her death, 313
—— Juliana of, sister of Orange, i., 121; married Count Albert of Schwarzburg, ii., 113, 162
—— Louis, third son of William the Elder, i., 90; emissary to Augustus of Saxony, 128, 136; marriage plans, 148; letter to prince, 148; anxiety about Henry, 162; at Spa, 174; in Germany, 178; suspected of pasting placards, 182; signs compromise, 182; at Hoogstraaten's house, 189; his part in the petition, 194 *et seq.*; signs Accord of Aug. 25, 1566, 222; letters from Breda, 225, 227; indignant at regent, 234, 241; at Dillenburg, 272; cited by Blood Council, 280; contributes 10,000 florins to patriot cause, 293; in Friesland, 295 *et seq.*; victory of

Heiliger Lee, 295 *et seq.*; banished, 301; efforts to hold army together, 306; defeat at Jemmingen, 308 *et seq.*; in France, 329 *et seq.*, 344; delighted at capture of Brill, ii., 7; takes Mons, 8; siege, 14 *et seq.*, his retreat, 22 *et seq.*; at Dillenburg, 25; urges Elizabeth to marry Alençon, 36; negotiations with the French, 32, 40 *et seq.*, 55; plans, 59; sets out from Germany, 61; battle of Mook, 62 *et seq.*; death, 65; character, 66

Nassau, Magdalena of, i., 228
—— Maria of, wife of Count de Berghes, ii., 372
—— Wilhelmina of, present Queen of Holland, ii., 393
—— William, Count of (called the Elder), his titles, i., 21; at Diet of Worms, 26; becomes a Protestant, 28 *et seq.*; his character, 33; his death, 34, 119
—— William of (Prince of Orange) *see* Orange
—— children of Prince of Orange
—— Anne of, ii., 112, 161, 215, 428
—— Catherine Belgia, birth of, ii., 267, 428
—— Charlotte Brabantina, ii., 350, 428
—— Charlotte Flandrina, ii., 349, 428
—— Elizabeth, ii., 188, 428
—— Emilia, i., 350, ii., 112, 428
—— Emilie Antwerpiana, ii., 350, 428
—— Frederic Henry, ii., 377, 378, 382, 428
—— Justin, i., 110, 118, ii., 360
—— Louise Juliana, ii., 314, 428
—— Marie of, birth of, i., 95; placed at court, 176; leaves court for Dillenburg, 270; mentioned, ii., 112; letter to Orange, 160; devotion to grandmother, 187; returns to Netherlands, 215; letters to Count John, ii., 249, 252, 253, 254, 345, 347; devotion to her step-sisters, 351, 370
—— Maurice, birth, i., 348; mentioned, ii., 73, 112, 123, 124, 186, 215, 337, 339, 369, 418, 428
—— Philip William, Count of Buren, *see* Buren

Nassaus, wives of, Adelheid of Vianden, i., 7
—— Claudia of Orange-Chalons (married Henry II.), i., 15
—— Elizabeth of Hesse (married John), i., 12
—— Francesca (married Henry II.), i., 13
—— Johanna of Polanen and Leck, i., 8
—— Juliana of Stolberg-Hainault (married William), i., 38
—— Margaret de la Mark, i., 8
—— Maria of Loon and Heinesburg, i., 9
—— Menzia of Mendoza (married Henry), i., 15
—— Walpurge of Egmont (wife of Wm. of Nassau), i., 37
—— Zimburge of Baden, married Engelbert II., i., 10 *et seq.*

Nassau-Beilstein, Henry of, i., 33
Nassau-Breda, line of, reverts to German branch at René's death, i., 21
Nassau-Dillenburg family, i., 9; inheritance, i., 24–27; signature of, to Religious Peace, i., 32, 33
Nassau-Hesse, religious differences between, i., 33
Nassau-Idstein, i., 27

Nassau-Saarbrück, Count Albert of, i., 339
Nassau-Weilnau, i., 27
Nasse Auen, i., 4
Nasua, reputed ancestor of Nassaus, i., 5
Navarre, college of, ii., 8
—— King of (Henry of Bourbon), ii., 17, 100, 128, 159, 201, 262 ; sponsor for Frederic Henry of Nassau, 378
—— Queen of (Margaret of Valois), *see* Valois
Netherlands, the, i., 50, 77, *et passim* ; composition of the government of, i., 116 *et seq.* ; united, ii., 154, 287 *et passim*
Nevers, Duke of, i., 71, ii., 198
Nieuwport, ii., 149
Nijhoff, M., ii., 399
Nimo, Spaniard, ii., 197
Nivelles, ii., 16, 252
Noircarmes, Ph. de, i., 220, 239, 269, 278, 282 ; member of Blood Council, 285, ii., 21 *et seq.*, 54, 240
Noppenus, Councillor, i., 85
Norris, Henry, i., 345
Notice sur le Conseil de Troubles, *see* Gachard
Notules du conseil d'état, *see* Berty
Noue, Seignior de la, ii., 19
Noyon, town of, i., 90
Nuenar, Herman, Count of, i., 86, 155, 240, 243, 251, 273, 340, ii., 28
—— Emilia de, widow of Henry Brederode, married Elector Palatine, ii., 314
Nuremberg Confession, i., 29
—— Peace of, i., 31
—— Reformation, introduced into Siegen and Dillenburg, i., 28
Nuynhem, Florent, steward of Prince of Orange, ii., 80
Nymegen, ii., 244

O

Oberstein, Count, ii., 150 ; drowned in the Scheldt, 153
Oldenburg, i., 313
Oliver, Antony, a geographer, ii., 7, 14
Ommegang, ii., 284
Orable, Saracen princess i., 18
Orange, principality of, i., 17, 19, 39, 67, ii., 450 ; Prussia's claim to, i., 22 ; House and arms of, 47 ; article in Peace of Monsieur, ii., 129
—— Princess Tiburge of, ii, 18
—— Réné, Prince of, son of Henry of Nassau, i., 15 *et seq.* ; married Anne of Lorraine, i., 21 ; killed at St. Dizier, i., 20 ; will of, i., 21 ; poem about, ii., 434
Orange, Prince of (William, Count of Nassau, Catzenellenbogen, etc., called le Taciturne or the Silent), his ancestors, i., *et seq.* ; birth (1533), 39 ; inherits Réné's estates, 40 ; education, 42, 78 ; favorite of Charles V., 43 ; marries Anne of Egmont, 44 ; visit to Fontainebleau, 45 *et seq.* ; his dancing, 51 ; first appointments (1551), 55 ; early campaigns, 56 ; his difficulties, 61 ; wishes to press Catzenellenbogen suit, 62 ; made captain-in-chief, 67 ; commands at Renti, 68 ; general-in-chief, 69 ; builds Philippeville and Charlemont, 71 ; present at abdication, 73 *et seq.* ; made councillor of state, 81 ; made knight of the Golden Fleece, 83 ; mission to Bois-le-Duc, 84 ; mission to Cologne, 86 ; journey to Frankfort, 87 ; at St. Quentin, 90 ; his malaria, 91 ; tries to raise money, 93 ; mission to Frankfort, 94 ; his wife dies (1558), 94 ; his

Orange, Prince of—*Continued.*
children, 95; ordered into the field, 99; peace commissioner, 101; at funeral of Charles V., 104; as hostage, 102, 106 *et seq.*; story of his name, the Silent, 109; his marriage plans, 111, 123; begins career as statesman, 112; his government, 117; renounced claim to Nassau estates, 119; chooses Anne of Saxony as second wife, 123; obstacles to the marriage, 124 *et seq.*; his wedding, 138 *et seq.*; his behaviour, 132; publishes July Edict in Orange, 144; his discontent at Granvelle's influence, 146 *et seq.*; his joint protest with Egmont and Horn (March, 1563), 151; his schemes for government, 162; his extravagant housekeeping, 162; asks advice from William of Hesse, 166; his domestic troubles, 168, 173; loses infant, 168; efforts to collect money, 173; places daughter under regent's protection, 176; prefers resignation to enforcing inquisition, 184; at Breda, 186; opinion on inquisition, 192; sides with government and not petitioners, 194; present at confederates' supper, 201; advice at council meeting, 204; meets confederates at Duffel, 206; goes to Antwerp to establish order, 211; recalled to Brussels, 214; persuades regent to remain, 220; returns to Antwerp, 222; his summary measures, 223; his letters to Germany, 224; his success in pacifying Antwerp, 229; his first treasonable thoughts, 231; efforts to win Egmont, 232; successful efforts in Holland, 237; refuses present, 236; efforts to reconcile religious differences, 239; establishes peace in Amsterdam, 241; refuses to administer new oath to his soldiers, 242; at Breda, 243; refuses new oath, and resigns his charges, 247; confers with nobles, 251; action after battle of Ostrawell (1567), 254 *et seq.*; last interview with Egmont, 264 *et seq.*; leaves his governments and departs from Antwerp, 267; a refugee, 272; at Dillenburg, 273 *et seq.*; his son Maurice born, 281; summoned by Blood Council, 287; publishes *Justification*, 288; studies Protestant theology, 276, 292; levies troops, 293; plans of campaign, 295; disappointment, 296; banished, 301; at Strasburg, 310; alliance with Coligny, 313 *et seq.*; crosses the Meuse, 317; enters France, 321; rumours about, 324; visit to Brantôme, 330; returns to Germany, 331; wanderings, 333; efforts to raise money, 335 *et seq.*; his rigid economy, 340; executed in effigy, 346; troubles with Anne of Saxony, 347 *et seq.*; his patience, 361; blamed by her relations, 365; watches Netherland affairs, ii., 2; displeased at capture of Brill, 5; his standard raised, 6; his correspondence under feigned names, 10; need of funds, 11; convenes estates at Dort (1572), recognised as stadtholder, 12; crosses the Rhine, 14; detained at Roermond, 15; surprise at St. Bartholomew, 20; at Hermigny, 21; returns to Holland, 27; at Dordrecht, 29; efforts to relieve Harlem, 30 *et seq.*; overtures for peace, 33; joins Calvinist commune, 39 *et seq.*; faith in French alliance, 41; loneliness, 47; epistle to the King

Orange, Prince of—*Continued.*
of Spain, 49; unwilling to make peace, 52; at Zierikzee, (1574) receives Mondragon's capitulation, 58; awaits his brothers at Bommel, 62, 68 *et seq.*; uncertainty about brothers, 73; his terms for peace, 75; efforts to relieve Leyden, 78 *et seq.*; his illness, 80; receives news of siege raised, 86; establishes University of Leyden, 86; his powers of government ill defined, 88; new arrangement made, 89; his allowance, 90; unwilling to accept peace offered at Breda conference, 93; his desire for increased powers, 94; marriage negotiations with Charlotte of Bourbon (1575), 97 *et seq.*; his wedding, 107; indifference to public opinion, 109; insists on toleration, 113; meets estates at Rotterdam, 116; proposes foreign aid, 116 *et seq.*; his reported plan of emigration, 120; his use of the *Interim* and correspondence, 122; his children, 123; new powers conferred by Union of Delft, 125; negotiates with Elizabeth, 128; his efforts to win friends after the Spanish mutiny, 138; intercourse with France, 141; appeals to the people, 142; urges union, 143 *et seq.*; his part in the Pacification of Ghent, 154; in French negotiations, 159 *et seq.*; his aged look (1576), 166; delay in going to Brussels, 168 *et seq.*; opposes Perpetual Edict, 174 *et seq.*; receives Leoninus, 181 *et seq.*; negotiations with England and France, 187; conference with Don John's envoys at Gertruidenberg, 190 *et seq.*; his disbelief in Philip, 196; his action after seizure of Namur, 204; regains Breda, 206; in Holland, 207; wishes his family, 215; invited to Brussels, 216 *et seq.*; enters Brussels (1577), 221; prevents reconciliation with Don John, 223; accepts Matthias, 230; made Ruward of Brabant, 231; returns to Antwerp, 232; at Ghent, 238; entry into Brussels with Matthias (1578), 241; made lieutenant-general, 242; his prospects, 244; attitude towards the sects in Antwerp, 251; negotiations with Anjou, 258; his daughter baptised, 267; authority in the ascendant, 270; his relation with Union of Utrecht, 273 *et seq.*; blamed for the fall of Maestricht, 284 *et seq.*; efforts to calm Ghent troubles, 285; declines a secret peace with Philip, 287; proposes executive council, 297; appeal to the states-general, 300; goes to Holland, 302; his justification of French alliance, 305; declines Countship of Holland, 309; his mother's death, 313; sends George de Wittgenstein to Count John's wedding, 315; the Ban, a price set upon his head, 316; his *Apology*, reply to Ban, 318; denial of forged letter, 322; sends *Apology* over Europe, 324, 326; accomplishes deposition of Philip (1581); loses Breda, 329; buys estates of Flushing and Veer, 330; urges estates to action, 330 *et seq.*; his arguments prevail, 333; meets Anjou at Flushing; installs him as Duke of Brabant, 335; shot by John Jaureguy, 337; his presence of mind, 339; his care for Jaureguy's accomplices, 343; his illness and recovery, 345 *et seq.*; loses Charlotte of Bourbon, 349;

Orange, Prince of—*Continued.*
his children, 351; accepts Countship of Holland, 352; enforces Anjou's authority, 354; belief in Anjou, 358; pacifies people after French Fury, 361; explanations to France and England, 365; his exposition of courses open to Netherlands, 366 *et seq.*; desires reconciliation with Anjou, 367; marriage with Louise de Coligny, 368; his efforts to preserve the union, 372; leaves Antwerp, 374; continued efforts to reinstate Anjou, 376; his youngest son, 382; his relations with Holland, 383 *et seq.*; his residence at Delft, 394; attempts on his life, 395 *et seq.*; plan of Gérard to assassinate, 399 *et seq.*; his last days, 410 *et seq.*; shot on July 10, 1584, 412; his dying words, 413; his funeral, 418; his appearance, 419; his character, 420 *et seq.*; Wilhelmuslied, 440; his marriage declared legal, 444; his cipher, 446; his portraits, 453
—— Letters to Duke of Anjou (Alençon), ii., 159, 322; Anne of Egmont (first wife), i., 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 70, 71, 73, 81, 90, 91, 94; Anne of Saxony (second wife), i., 355, 361; Antwerp magistrates, ii., 366; Marquis de Berghes (Jean de Glymes), i., 269, 382; François of Bourbon, ii., 141; Catherine de Medici, ii., 366, 382, 401; Charles IX., i., 322; Pierre Dathenus, ii., 286; Count Egmont, i., 251, 268; Queen Elizabeth, ii., 365; Ghent magistrates, ii., 290; Landgrave of Hesse (Philip), i., 154, 210; Landgrave of Hesse (William), i., 240, 243, 245, 263, 264, 274, 275, 276, 294, 360; Sr. de Hèze, ii., 140; Count Horn, i., 268; Jean de Imbize, ii., 377; Don John, ii., 194; Bishop of Liege, i., 320; Philip Marnix, St. Aldegonde, ii., 52, 167; John of Nassau, i., 338, 358, 363, ii., 2, 9, 16, 20, 28, 33, 51, 56, 69, 71, 73, 82, 85, 91, 92, 93, 101, 105, 109, 112, 115, 118, 122, 129, 140, 154, 158, 177, 186, 255, 280, 315, 378; Duke of Montpensier, ii., 351; Juliana (his mother), ii., 313; Louis of Nassau, i., 120, 134, 156, 160, 162, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 194, 206, 284, 311, ii., 12, 15, 34, 36, 37, 39, 47, 68; William the Elder, i., 96; Margaret, Duchess of Parma, i., 133, 183, 192, 212, 213, 222, 229, 247, 270; Anthony Perrenot, Cardinal Granvelle, i., 97, 107, 130, 144; Philip II., i., 92, 124, 131, 148, 376; Pope Pius IV., i., 369; W. Ripperda, ii., 32; Elector of Saxony, i., 132, 239, 274, 284, ii., 111; Electress of Saxony, i., 132; Gunther Schwarzburg, i., 133; official letters, i., 101, 102, 106; states-general, ii., 142, 149, 204; states of Guelderland, ii., 372; states of Holland, ii.. 384, 389
Orange-Chalons, Claudia, sister to Philibert of, i., 15
Orange-Nassau, property, i., 273; genealogy of, ii., 433
—— Philibert, Prince of, i., 15, 19, 47
Orchies, i., 117, 188, ii., 156
Ordoño, Pedro, attempts to murder Orange, ii., 396
Orlers, Jan van, *Genealogy*, etc., quoted, i., 3 *et seq.*; *see* Bibliography
Orsay, ii., 27
Ostrawell, battle of, i., 253 *et seq.*
Otweiller in Welterich, ii., 161
Oudenarde, ii., 16, 20

Oudewater, besieged and captured, ii., 114, 157
Overyssel, i., 77, ii., 6, 29

P

Paapen uit, ii., 284
Pacheco, engineer, i., 283
Palatine, Wolfgang, Count, i., 153; *see* Duke Deux Ponts
—— Amelie [Emilie], Electress, ii., 96, 155, 314; *see also* Nuenar
—— Duke Christopher, son of Elector, ii., 61, 65; death of, 67, 70
—— Frederic III., Elector, i., 275, 296, 321, ii., 45, 96, 98 *et seq.*, 111, 253, 310, 313, 314
—— John Casimir, son of Elector, *see* Casimir
—— Kunigunde, daughter of Elector, ii., 310, 313; marries Count John of Nassau, 314
Pantomime at Paris, ii., 281
Papiers d'État, quoted, i., 169
Parma, Prince of, *see* Farnese
—— Margaret, Duchess of, daughter of Charles V., regent of Netherlands, i., 111, 112, 116 *et seq.*, 196, 200, 205 *et seq.*, 221, 249, 254, 274; superseded by Alva, 277; leaves Netherlands, 285; referred to, ii., 189, 266, 316; sent back to Netherlands, 371
Payen, Pontus, *Mémoires*, quoted, i., 109; *see* Bibliography
Pembroke, Earl of, i., 88
Péronne, i., 99
Perrenot, Anthony, de Granvelle (Bishop of Arras), better known as Cardinal Granvelle, i., 31, 32, 64, 76, 97, 99, 101, 107, 111, 116 *et seq.*; 128, 131, 145; leaves Brussels, 160; comments on Netherland affairs, ii., 47, 122, 316, 348, 415, 416
Petit, Le, account of Ordoño's execution, ii., 396
Petition, story of, i., 194 *et seq.*; result of, 199; new, 207
Pfeffinger, Doctor, i., 141
Pfister, *Geschichte*, etc., quoted i., 41; *see* Bibliography
Philip, the Fair of Burgundy, i., 10; Good of Burgundy, *ibid.*
Philip II., King of Spain, marries Mary of England, i., 67; receives his inheritance, 75 *et seq.*; his inaction after St. Quentin, 89 *et seq.*; letters to Orange, 80, 85, 97; treaty with France, 105; marries Elizabeth of Valois, 107; indignation at the states and Orange, 114; returns to Spain, 115; administration of Netherlands from Spain, his opinions, etc., 131 *et seq.*; 153 *et seq.*; enforces inquisition in Netherlands, 169 *et seq.*, wrath at iconoclasm, 234 *et seq.*; orders new oath, 242; marriage with Elizabeth of Austria, 327 *et seq.*; willingness to make peace on his terms, ii., 76, 91, 163 *et passim*; neglect of Don John, 218 *et passim*; orders Ban against Orange, 316; authority abjured by Netherlands, 368
Philippeville, built by William of Orange, i., 71, 81 *et seq.*, 88, 293
Picardy, i., 66, 69, 88, 105
Piedmont, i., 102, 110, ii., 307
Pise, Joseph de la, *Tableau des Princes*, etc., *d'Orange*, quoted, i., 16; *see* Bibliography
Plessis les Tours, treaty of, ii., 323, 326
Plessis-Mornay, Seignior du (Philip de Mornay), ii., 358
Poitiers, Diana of, i., 66
—— siege of, i., 331
Poland, Duke of Anjou elected to throne of, ii., 41 *et seq.*, 123
Polderwaert, fortress, ii., 77 *et seq.*

Ponika, Hans von, Councillor, i., 140
Pope Paul IV., i., 127
—— Pius IV., i., 166
—— Urban VII., ii., 287
Poppel, Herr, i., 150
Porte, de la, reformed minister, ii., 19
Portugal, Don Emanuel of, marries Emilie of Nassau, i., 350
—— Isabella of, marries Philip the Good, i., 83
—— Donna Maria of, marries Alexander Farnese, i., 179; ii., 266
Prado, Spaniard, ii., 197
Prescott, *Philip II.*, quoted, i., 89; *see* Bibliography
Prinsenhof, residence of Orange in Delft, ii., 395, 456
Pruneaux, Seignior des (Roche de Sorbies), ii., 256, 272, 337, 376
Prunier, Siegfried, ii., 307

Q

Quarebbe, ii., 13
Quesnoy, Le, i., 60, 321
Quixada, Louis, ii., 164

R

Rabutin, *Commentaries*, quoted, i., 65; *see* Bibliography
Raleigh, Walter, ii., 336
Ranke, von, *Zeitalter*, etc., quoted, i., 52; *see* Bibliography
Rassenghien, Baron de (Rassinghien or Rassenghem), Maximilian Vylain, ii., 121, 168
Ratisbon, Diet of, ii., 111; birthplace of Don John of Austria, 164
Raumer, v., *Geschichte*, quoted, i., 78; *see* Bibliography
Reformation of the Netherlands, i., 386
Regent of Netherlands, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, *see* names
Reichstag at Ulm, *see* Diet
Reiffenberg, Baron de, *Corr. de Marg. d'Autriche*, quoted, i., 98; *Hist.*, etc., quoted, i., 83; *see* Bibliography
Reiters, German mercenaries, ii., 270
Relation l'Expédition au Prince d'Orange dans les Pays-Bas, *see* Courteville
Relations Politiques, quoted, ii., 5, *see* Kervyn de Lettenhove
Réné, one of Orange's guard, ii., 409
Rennenberg, Count of (George Lalain, Baron de Ville), ii., 179, 289, 307 *et seq.*, 315
Renon de France, *Hist.*, etc., quoted, i., 126 *et passim*, ii., 335 *et passim*; *see* Bibliography
Renti, i., 68
Renversal, letters of, ii., 352, 385, 387
Requesens y Cuñiga, Don Luis de, ii., 45, 49, 58, 72, 75, 77, 115, 118; death and character of, 119 *et seq.*
Reyden, i., 308
Rheims, i., 118, 325
Rhine, the, i., 2, 3, 62 *et passim*, ii., 13 *et passim*
Rhone, the, i., 17
Riedsel, Volbrecht, i., 280
Rijnemaants, engagement near, ii., 259
Rio, del, member of Blood Council, i., 285
Ripperda, W., governor of Harlem, ii., 30, 32
Robertson, *Charles V.*, quoted, i., 56; *see* Bibliography
Robles, Gaspar à, *see* Billy
Rochefoucauld, Count de la, i., 331
Roche l'Abeille, battle of, i., 331
Rochelle, La, i., 332, 345, ii., 66

Rochlitz, i., 365
Roda, Jerome de, ii., 121, 137, 139, 150, 173
Roermond, i., 127, ii., 15, 20, 21, 23, 28, 219
Roeulx Count de (Jean de Croy), ii., 234
Rogers, Daniel, ii., 118, 207
Roltzhamer, Marshal, i., 157
Romero, Julian, i., 283, ii., 9; surprises Orange at Hermigny, 20; at Naarden, 26 *et seq.*; 37; advances to Orange, 51 *et seq.*, 57 *et seq.*, 92, 137, 150, 184
Romersdorf, monastery of, i., 316
Rosenberg, troops of, i., 67
Rosey, i., 21
Rossano, Archbishop of, ii., 287
Rossem, Martin von, Marshal of Guelderland, i., 69
Rotherham, chateau of, ii., 42
Rotterdam, i., 344, ii., 5 *et seq.*, 75 *et seq.*, 79, 81, 116, 118
Roubaix, Marquis, ii., 397 *et seq.*
Rubens, John, i., 362, 390, ii., 105
Ruber, Seignior, ii., 230
Rudolph II., successor to Emperor Maximilian ii., 177, 229, *see* Austria
Ryhove, ii., 233 *et seq.*, 371, 377
Ryssel, i., 117
Rytberg heiress, i., 148, 155

S

Sachsenburg, i., 355
St. Agatha, Convent of, ii., 375, 394
St. Aldegonde, Seignior de, *see* Marnix
St. André, Marshal, i., 88, 101
St. Bartholomew, massacre of, ii., 17, 54
St. Bernard, Abbey of, i., 254, 294
St. Dizier, i., 15, 20, 40, 44, 47
St. Florian, near Mons, ii., 20
St. Germain, peace of, i., 345
St. Gertrude, Abbé of, *see* Linden
St. Goard, Seignior de (Jean de Vivonne), ii., 48
Ste. Gudule, Cathedral of, i., 167
St. John, Prior of, i., 279, 282
St. Michel, Abbey of, ii., 220
St. Omer, i., 127
St. Pol, Count de, i., 122
St. Quentin, victory of, i., 88 *et seq.*, 111, 252, 278; mention of, ii., 66
St. Trond, i., 206, 213, 319
St. Valery, i., 295
St. Vit, i., 11
Salamanca, Archives of, i., 266
Salcedo, Juan de, ii., 355, 396
Salinas, Captain, i., 283
Sambre, the, ii., 202
Sarcerius, Erasmus, i., 30
Sasbout, Arnold, ii., 92, 121, 207
Sassenheim, ii., 32
Savoy, Emmanuel Philibert, i., 66
—— Duke of, 68, 69, 85 *et seq.*, 99, 100, 103–106, 110
—— College of, i., 279
Saxony, Anne of, daughter of Elector Maurice, i., 122 *et seq.*; description and character of, 129 *et seq.*; determines to marry Orange, 136; birth of first child, 148; eccentricity of, 167–173; suggested as Regent of Antwerp, 237; opposes Orange's plans, 267 *et seq.*; discontent at Dillenburg, 273; wishes to return to Breda, 280 *et seq.*; birth of Maurice, 281; goes to Cologne, 348; birth of Emilia, 350; negotiations with Alva, 353; her attendants, 355; disagreeable letters, 358; refuses to meet prince, 360; final rupture with prince, 362; dies mad, 366
—— Augustus, Elector of, brother of Maurice, i., 123, 132, 244, 280, 281, 288, 296, 348, 364, ii., 46, 111, 123

Saxony, Electress of, i., 132, 275
—— Frederic of, claimant to imperial throne, i., 14, 45
—— Hans Frederic, Duke of, i., 26, 33, 53, 123
—— House of, i., 34, 37, ii., 98, 105
—— John of, i., 27
—— Maurice, Elector of, i., 45, 52 *et seq.*, 56, 122
Schauenberg (Schaumburg), Ernest, Count of, ii., 311
—— Joost, Count of, i., 311, ii., 13
—— William, Count of, i., 176, 227
Scheldt, the, i., 254, 260
—— ii., 3, 9 *et passim*
Schetz, Gaspar (Seignior de Grobbendonck), i., 148; his supper, 158 *et seq.*, ii., 180 *et seq.*, 218, 287
Schiedam, ii., 79, 117
Schiller, Frederic von, quoted, i., 77
Schmalkalden, League of, i., 30, 31, 46
Schollier, Seignior, messenger of Anjou, ii., 363
Schomberg (Schönberg or Schonberg), i., Marshal Gaspar de, 322, 325, ii., 42, 82, 111
Schoonhove, Burgomaster, ii., 360
Schoonhoven, ii., 6, 13, 157
Schouwen, island of, capture of, ii., 115 *et seq.*, 120, 136 *et seq.*; retaken by patriots, 158
Schwarz, Dr. Jac, ii., 105, 303, 310
Schwarzburg (Rudolstadt), Albert, Count of, i., 273, 339, ii., 119, 162, 241
—— Gunther, Count of (marries Catherine of Nassau), i., 121, 125, 129, 153, 224, 272, 339, 341, ii., 92, 94, 113, 225, 241, 255, 287, 307, 312, 313
—— Countess of, *see* Catherine of Nassau
Schwendi, Lazarus de, ii., 230, 303 *et seq.*
Seidel, Wolf, notary, i., 140
Seld, Vice-Chancellor, i., 93
Seltzer, mineral springs, i., 2
Sesse, Duke of, i., 91
Severus, Emperor, story of, i., 4
Siburg, i., 356
Sichem, ii., 16, 222
Siegen, i., 12, 24, 28, 36, 39, 347, 355, ii., 112, 186
Simultaneum, or community of churches, i., 27
Solms, Philip de, i., 361
Sommarye report of the Prince of Orange, his entrie into Brusselle, *see* Davison
Sondershausen, i., 339
Songs of the Netherlands, ii., 434
Sonnius, Bishop, ii., 437
Sonoy, Diedrich, General, ii., 38, 89, 114
Spa, meeting of nobles at, i., 174; Margaret of Valois at, ii., 201, 207
Spanish Fury, the, ii., 150 *et seq.*
Speyer, Bishop of, ii., 60
States-General, receive abdication of Charles V., i., 74 *et seq.*; receive Philip's farewell, 113 *et seq.*; convention of, desired, 162 *et passim*; assemble at call of states of Brabant, ii., 142; negotiations with Don John, 163 *et seq.*, 204 *et seq.*; receive him, 184; invite Orange to Brussels, 216; depose Don John, 235; leave Brussels, 248; slow movements of, 300; invite Anjou to Netherlands, 323; abjure Philip II., 326; negotiations with Anjou after French Fury, 367; assume government after death of Orange, 393
Steenwyk, town of, ii., 323
Stenton, Ernest, fictitious name, i., 312
Stenzel, accountant, ii., 93

Sternerbund, confederation, i., 7
Stochem, i., 316
Straalen, Anthony von, Burgomaster of Antwerp, i., 222, 256 ; arrest of, 284
Strada, Famianus, *De Bello Belgico*, quoted, i., 112 *et passim* ; account of Paris pantomine, ii., 281 ; comment on the abjuration, 327 ; comment on Breda, 330 ; *see* Bibliography
Strasburg, i., 57, 310, 326, 329
Sweveghem, Seignior de (Fr. de Halewyn), ii., 174, 176, 184
Sydney, Sir Philip, ii., 188, 195, 215, 229
Sylvius, William, ii., 206
Symerch, Duke of, i., 45 *et seq.*

T

Taciturne, le, origin of name, i., 109
Tacitus, quoted, i., 299
Taffin, John, minister of Reformed church, i., 311, ii., 107, 170
Tassis (Taxis), Jean Baptiste de, ii., 197, 397
Teligny, Charles, Marquis de, ii., 369
—— Madame de, *see* Coligny
Tempel, Oliver van den, ii., 168
Ter Goes, ii., 26
Termonde, i., 234, 290, ii., 16, 20, 252, 368
Terranova, Duke of, ii., 287
Thermes, Marshal de, i., 100
Théron, Jehan, ii., 167
Thérouanne, i., 66
Thionville, i., 64, 99 *et seq.*
Tholen, ii., 115, 158, 205
Tholouse, Seignior of, (John Marnix, brother of Aldegonde), i., 186 ; expedition of, 253 *et seq.* ; death of, 255
Thorn, i., 57
Thron, monastery of, i., 27
Thuringia, Margrave of, i., 39, ii., 119
Tiel, ii., 69
Tirlemont, i., 278, ii., 16, 144, 148, 252
Titelmann, Peter, inquisitor, i., 170
Toledo, Don Frederic of, son of Alva, i., 282, 319 ; ii., 9, 14, 21 *et seq.*, 26, 29, 31, 32, 37 *et seq.*, 48, 50 *et seq.*
Tongres, i., 319
Tournaisis, i., 117 ; deputy from, ii., 268
Tournay, i., 117, 126, 127, 221, ii., 156, 268, 402
Touteville, Madame de, sister-in-law of King of Navarre, i., 111, 122
Traos, Antony des, ii., 258 ; letters to landgrave, 291
Treaties (pacifications, peaces, etc.), Bordeaux, ii., 326 ; Cambray, i., 20 ; Cateau-Cambresis, i., 105 ; La Charité, ii., 451 ; Delft, ii., 114 ; St. Dizier, i., 20 ; St. Germain, i., 345 ; Pacification of Ghent, ii., 154 ; *Interim* of 1548, i., 30 ; Marche-en-Famene, ii., 174 ; Monsieur, ii., 128 ; Nuremberg, i., 31 ; Passau, i. 32, 61 ; Religion, i., 32, ii., 274 ; Ryswick, ii., 452 ; Schmalkalden, i., 30 ; Union of Utrecht, ii., 273
Trelon, i., 60
Trent, Council of, i., 169, 326, ii., 107
Treslong, Seignior de (Terlon), William de Blois, ii., 3, 7, 204 *et seq.*
Treszen, i., 276
Treves (Trier), Archbishop of, i., 86, ii., 60, 287 ; Gérard in, ii., 401 *et seq.*
Truchses, Gerard, Archbishop of Cologne, ii., 373
T'Serraets, Jerome, i., 94, 359, ii., 7, 22, 26

Tylius, Thomas, minister of Reformed church, ii., 107

U

Ubiquitists, evangelical sect, ii., 129
Ulm, Reichstag at, i., 32
Urbino, Pietro, engineer, i., 283
Utrecht, i., 77, 117, 126, 127, 237 *et seq.*, 267 ; Bishop of, i., 176, ii., 5 *et seq.*, 12, 75 *et seq.*, 140 *et passim* ; satisfaction of, 208 ; union of, ii., 273 *et seq.* ; approves Holland's choice, 386, 392
—— Adrian of, i., 13
Uylenburgh, Robert, dines with prince, ii., 412 ; letter to magistrates of Leeuwarden, 412

V

Vaderlandsche Historie, *see* Wagenaar
Valdez, de, Spanish general, ii., 51, 64, 74, 77 ; raises siege of Leyden, 84 *et seq.*, 184
Valenciennes, i., 64, 117, 156 *et passim*, ii., 140, 156, 198, 268
Valiozo, ii., 197
Valkenburg, fortress near Leyden, ii., 75
Valle, Hubert à, i., 310
Valois, Elizabeth of, marries Philip II., i., 105, 107 ; death of, 328
—— François of, *see* Anjou
—— Henry of, *see* Anjou
—— Margaret of, marriage of, with Philip of Savoy, i., 103, 106
—— Margaret of (Queen of Navarre), ii., 17, 166, 198, 201, 207
Vargas, Juan de, i., 285 ; his barbarous Latin, 286, 288
Varich (or Varick), Pierre de, Governor of Orange, i., 177
—— M. de, brother of Pierre, i., 232, 233, 450
Veer, Margravate of, ii., 330
Venero, implicated in Jaureguy's attempt, ii., 342
Venetian ambassador at Brussels, i., 76
Venloo, town of, ii., 13, 14
Verband der Edelen, quoted, i., 167
Verdugo, Fr. de, Spanish captain. ii., 184
Vianden, territory of, i., 11
Vianen, ii., 140
Vieilleville, Marshal de (François de Scépeaux), i., 45 *et seq.*
Vienna, i., 328, 353 *et seq.*, ii., 229
Viglii Epistolæ ad Joach. Hopperum, quoted, i., 334 ; *Analecta Belgica*, *see* Bibliography
Viglius van Zuichem ab Aytta, President, i., 102, 116, 146, 167, 169, 179 *et seq.*, 220, 231, ii., 50, 121, 140, 190
Villach, i., 56
Villafans, birthplace of Gérard, ii., 399
Villars, Count, i., 301
Villaux, Jean, ii., 400
Ville, Baron de, *see* Rennenberg
Villiers, Pierre l'Oyseleur de, minister of Reformed church, ii., 318, 404
Vincennes, forest of, i., 108, 109 ; confidence of Henry II. to Wm. of Orange in, 113
Viry, Sire de, ii., 131
Vitelli, Chiappin, Spanish captain, i., 308, 319
Vosberg, Gaspar, ii., 226

W

Waal, the, ii., 62 *et seq.*
Wagenaar, *Vaderlandische Historie*, quoted, i., 114, *et passim* ; *see* Bibliography
Wagenar, Leonard, i., 28

Walcheren, Isle of, i. 253 *et seq.*, ii., 115
Walloon provinces, ii., 280, 328
Walsingham, Francis, Lord, ii., 184, 197, 223, 262
Wamel, ii., 69
Waroux, Seignior de (Bernard de Mérode), i., 186
Wartgelt, retaining fee to troops, i., 67
Waveron, i., 319
Wedde, Castle of, i., 297
Wedding of Prince of Orange, guests at, i., 367
Weesp, ii., 6, 157
Wehrheim, i., 22
Weilnau, Old, i., 22
Welterich, ii., 161
Werf, Adrian van der, Burgomaster of Leyden, ii., 83
Werve, Peter Aaronson, Van der, i., 335
Wesembeck, J. van, i., 344
Westerwald, i., 349
Wiesbaden, mineral springs, i., 2
Wilhelmi, Bartholdus, ii., 39
Wilhelmuslied, ii., 1, 14, 440
Willebroek, i., 265 *et seq.*, ii., 221, 241
Willerval, Seignior of (Adrian d'Oygnies), peace commissioner, ii., 190
William the Elder, called William the Rich, *see* Nassau
Wilson, Dr., letters to Lord Burleigh, ii., 172; to Earl of Leicester, 190; to Walsingham, 197, 199; to Elizabeth, 200, 212 *et seq.*
Wiltberg, Heinrich von, steward of Count of Buren, i., 140, 279, ii., 133
Wittgenstein, George de, ii., 315
Woerden, ii., 6, 75
Wolf, Hartman, i., 335
Wolffven, Balthasar von, i., 312
Woltersdorff, Ulrich, councillor, i., 140
Worms, Diet of, 1521, i., 26
Würtemberg, i., 28, 37
—— Duke of, i., 275

Y

Ypres, Bishop of, i., 127, 302, 381
Yssel, the, ii., 77, 79, 156
Yuste, death of Emperor Charles in monastery of, i., 103
Yvoy, taken by France, i., 57

Z

Zealand, i., 77, 117, 191, 277, ii., 3, 5 *et seq.*, 12, 22, 36, 39, 49, 51, 56, 70, 76, 86, 91, 93, 95, 109. 113, 116, 120, 122, 124 *et seq.*, 138, 145 *et seq.*, 155 *et seq.*, 173, 176; estates of, ii., 182, 185, 190 *et seq.*, 216 *et seq.*, 232, 239; accepts union of Utrecht, 278, 302, 386
Zeitalter der Reformation, i., 52, *see* von Ranke
Zell, Nicholas, preacher, i., 276
Zierikzee, ii., 55 *et seq.*, 116; besieged, 118, 129, 130; surrender of, 133 *et seq.*; Spanish mutiny at, 136 *et seq.*; retaken by patriots, ii., 158
Zimmerman, implicated in Jaureguy's attempt, ii., 343
Zoeterwoude, village of, ii., 84
Zomer, advocate of Ghent, ii., 321
Zuider Zee, ii., 38 *et seq.*
Zuléger, ii., 45, 99
Zutphen, i., 77, 117, ii., 26, 28
Zwieten, Herr, ii., 107
Zwingli, Swiss reformer, i., 245
Zwolle, ii., 28

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